

SEVENTH
REPORT

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

POOR LAWS (IRELAND).



Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
27 April 1849.

Luna, 5^a die Februarii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed on the IRISH POOR LAWS.

Jovis, 8^a die Februarii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT the Select Committee on Irish Poor Laws do consist of Twenty-one Members.

Committee nominated :

Lord John Russell.
Sir James Graham.
Sir John Young.
Colonel Dunne.
Mr. George Alexander Hamilton.
Sir William Somerset.
Mr. Scrope.
Sir Robert Ferguson.
Mr. Clements.
Mr. Shafto Adair.
Mr. Cornwall Lewis.

Mr. Monell.
Sir Denham Norreys.
Sir John Pakington.
Mr. Herbert.
Mr. Reynolds.
Mr. Shazman Crawford.
Mr. Fagan.
Mr. O'Flaherty.
Major Blackall.
Mr. Stafford.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Luna, 12^a die Februarii, 1849.

Order [8 February], THAT the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members, read and discharged.

Ordered, THAT the Committee do consist of Twenty-six Members.

Ordered, THAT the following Members be added to the Committee :

The Earl of Lincoln.
Sir Lucas O'Brien.
Mr. Moore.

Mr. Bright.
Mr. Grace.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Luna, 19^a die Februarii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT Mr. George Alexander Hamilton be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Mr. Napier be added thereto.

Veneris, 25^a die Februarii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report their Opinion, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

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R E P O R T.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed on IRISH POOR LAWS, who were empowered to Report their Opinion, and the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, from time to time, to The House;—HAVE taken further Evidence on the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to Report the same to The House.

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LIST OF WITNESSES.

Jovis, 19^o die Aprilis, 1849.

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Veneris, 20^a die Aprilis, 1849.

J. V. Stewart, Esq. - - - - - p. 20

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Veneris, 27^a die Aprilis, 1849.

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Tuesday, 19th de Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir William Somerville.
Mr. G. C. Lewis.
Mr. Clements.
Sir Denham Norreys.
Mr. Mousell.
Mr. O'Flaherty.
Mr. Stafford.
Mr. Bright.
Sir James Graham.

Mr. Sharman Crawford.
Mr. Poulett Scrope.
Major Blackall.
Colonel Danse.
Mr. Moore.
Sir Lucius O'Brien.
Earl of Lincoln.
Sir John Young.

SIR JOHN YOUNG, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

Captain Thomas Aiskenw Larcom, R. E., called in; and Examined.

5046. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] ARE you one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Boundaries of Unions and Electoral Divisions in Ireland?—I am.

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5047. What is the date of that commission?—The 17th of March 1848.

5048. Who are your colleagues upon that commission?—Captain Broughton, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. Charles Sharman Crawford.

5049. Before you were appointed had you and your colleagues means of obtaining information as to the local circumstances of poor-law unions in Ireland?—Mr. Crawford had been and is still an inspector of the poor law in the southern district. He is connected with the North of Ireland by birth, and he is a gentleman of great intelligence and ability. Captain Broughton had been employed as a temporary inspector in one of the northern unions; before that he was employed as an inspector under the Board of Works and the Relief Commissioners during the temporary relief in the county of Cork, so that he also had a knowledge of both parts of the country. Besides which he was several years employed in charge of a district of the Ordnance survey. My knowledge of Ireland was chiefly obtained during the progress of the Ordnance survey, I having the charge of the Ordnance Survey-office in the Phoenix Park; also having been one of the Commissioners for taking the census, having been engaged in the Parliamentary and Municipal Boundary Commissions, and various similar duties, extending over 20 years.

5050. What were the first steps you took under the commission in question?—We first embodied the instructions received by us from Sir George Grey, dated the 27th of March, in a set of queries which we distributed throughout Ireland as generally as we could. We sent them to the Boards of Guardians, and we supplied the clerks of unions with a great number of spare copies for distribution among the individual members of the Board, and other influential people. We sent copies also to all the Irish Members of both Houses of Parliament; and, in fact, to everybody whom we could ascertain to be interested in the question confided to us; we also printed them in the local newspapers. The object of this was to ascertain what complaints existed, and what the views of those several parties were as to the best mode of redressing those complaints. We next proceeded to collect a great variety of statistical information, which we embodied in tables, in order to enable us to test those complaints when they should arrive. We also proceeded to compile maps which should show the extent of every property in Ireland, because it was foreseen that many of the complaints would bear

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upon that point. Those were the principal preliminary steps that we took in commencing the inquiry.

5051. Have you received answers to those queries which you sent out from each of the poor-law unions?—We have received a great many answers, but not so many as the queries we sent out; I could on reference give the exact number of answers that we have received, but I do not recollect them at this moment.

5052. Had you an answer from every Board of Guardians?—I think we had an answer from almost every Board of Guardians.

5053. Are the answers which have been received by the Commissioners voluminous?—Yes, they are very voluminous. Many people preferred writing their statements in their own words, and not as distinct answers to those queries; indeed the whole correspondence of the Commissioners, more or less, bears on that subject.

5054. In the first place directing your attention to the size of the unions, can you describe generally what the effect of the answers you have received is with regard to the size of unions?—I think they concurred generally in stating that the size of the unions was too large. There were many unions from which no complaints were made who stated that they were perfectly satisfied, but the complaints that were made were generally of the great size of the unions.

5055. Were there many complaints of the size of the unions?—Yes, there were; chiefly in the west and south.

5056. Does the list of new unions, which you propose in page 8 of your report, involve the division of all the principal unions to which those complaints referred?—Yes, it does. Of course there can be no new unions made without separating portions from other unions, because the whole country is already divided.

5057. Major Blackall.] You did not mean to say that the complaints were confined to the size of the unions?—By no means; but I am speaking at present merely in reference to the size of the unions.

5058. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Does it appear to you essential that there should be a new workhouse built in each new union?—Quite indispensable.

5059. Have you had occasion to consider the means by which the expense of building new workhouses could be defrayed?—I have always felt that that was a great difficulty, but it was not my province to consider how the funds could be provided.

5060. With reference to the size of electoral divisions, have there been complaints from many unions of the electoral divisions being too large?—Yes, the complaints with regard to electoral divisions were very general indeed, and bore generally on the same point; that is, their too great magnitude, and their not being continuous with properties.

5061. Have those complaints come equally from all parts of the country?—No, the north generally was satisfied; there have been some complaints from the north, but very few, and I think they were chiefly from the county of Donagall.

5062. Does your report contain a statement of the general principle upon which you would propose to revise the size of electoral divisions?—Yes, that was the object of the report.

5063. Will you state to the Committee in a few words the principle on which you propose to proceed?—As we found the complaints relating to electoral divisions generally bore upon their too great size and their not being continuous with properties, we naturally looked to the instructions under which those electoral divisions were formed, and we have, in the Appendix to our Report, given an extract from the instructions of the Poor-law Commissioners, which appears to recognize the boundaries of properties as well as other boundaries, and explains that when rich districts are attached to poor ones in an electoral division, "care should be taken so to arrange the district as to make the relief afforded to the former as little oppressive as possible to the latter," thereby distinctly recognising the principle of regarding the boundaries of properties to every possible extent. Acting upon that principle, we sought to reduce the electoral divisions as far as we could, consistently with the general good, and to make the boundaries of the electoral divisions continuous with properties, instead of the larger boundaries which were adopted before.

5064. Do you propose to follow that principle generally in revising the electoral divisions?—We have followed that principle to the extent to which we have already gone; we have completed, in a preliminary manner, the boundaries of the electoral divisions of the counties of Clare and Limerick, part of Galway and Mayo,

Mayo,

Mayo, part of Kerry, part of Roscommon, and part of Tipperary and some other districts, and we are proceeding to revise the other electoral divisions.

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5065. How long do you think it will take to complete the revision of the whole of Ireland?—The revision I have described, that is, the reconstruction of electoral divisions to the extent that our present information will enable us, will be done in two or three months; and then it will be necessary to make known those divisions throughout the country, and ascertain what objections exist to them, and to take those objections into consideration, and to recommend to the Poor-law Commissioners and the Government the final measures to be adopted; what time will be occupied, and what correspondence will be involved in that, I am not prepared to say, for we have not taken that step yet; but I apprehend this summer will finish the whole of it.

5066. Do you apprehend that it is possible, or at any rate expedient, to lay down an inflexible scale with reference to a maximum of population, or valuation, or area, either separately or combined, or do you think the boundaries of each electoral division must depend upon its own circumstances?—Each case must depend upon its own circumstances, and must be taken into consideration separately, subject to the general principle that the electoral divisions should be as small as possible, consistently with the general good. To assume a general maximum or a minimum is impossible, when all the elements of each case differ. It would be necessary in the first instance to assume an average of circumstances before we can arrive at an average of dimension, i. e. we require an average density of population, an average of value, average cultivation, and average means of employment. If these circumstances occurred you might fix a maximum and minimum; but then, if they occurred, there would be no need of a maximum or minimum; if all circumstances were an average, you would not want a maximum or a minimum; and it is precisely because one or the other, or all, differ from the average, to a great extent in each case, that it is impossible to fix a maximum or a minimum.

5067. In taking the boundaries of property as far as possible for the boundaries of electoral divisions, has it been necessary to limit yourself to large properties, and to disregard the boundaries of small properties?—It has seldom been necessary to divide a property, unless it was very large; but it is constantly necessary to group together two or more small properties, still preserving the boundary of the group of properties.

5068. When you have completed your labours, by proposing a revision of the boundaries, making them public, and considering the objections, will you then report your final opinion to Government?—I apprehend that is the course to be pursued.

5069. And when your opinions have been reported, your functions will be at an end?—Yes.

5070. It will be then the duty of the Poor-law Commissioners to consider how far they will act upon the recommendations of your Commission, and give effect to those recommendations by their powers?—Just so; of the Government and the Poor-law Commissioners.

5071. Is it not the fact that the Poor-law Commissioners have a power of forming new unions without recourse to Parliament?—Yes, and electoral divisions also.

5072. Sir D. Norreys.] If a property extended over one-half, or say one-third, of a townland, would you consider yourself compelled to be guided by the consideration of the boundary of the property, or of the townland?—The townland; it is prescribed in the Poor-law Act that you shall not divide a townland.

5073. Sir J. Graham.] The substance of your recommendations, deliberately formed, is contained in your report?—It is.

5074. And since you presented that report nothing has occurred to shake the opinion you formed, as expressed in that report, with reference both to the size of unions and of electoral divisions?—No, on the contrary, everything has tended to confirm that opinion.

5075. You would not, therefore, propose any further subdivision of electoral divisions than that suggested by your report, and based on the principles therein stated. No division smaller than is recommended in that report?—I am not prepared to say that the divisions of Ballina, which are attached to the report, may not be in some cases too large; and if the proprietors in the country should

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offer objections to any of those divisions, and give valid reasons for altering them, I think they might with propriety be altered.

5076. The unions are laid down in that report as deliberately formed by you, on the best information you have obtained?—Yes.

5077. Colonel Dunne.] Are not those opinions formed upon the instructions you received, and not from any idea of your own upon the subject?—They were formed upon the information we obtained in conformity with the instructions under which we acted.

5078. You considered yourself bound by the instructions of the Commissioners?—When we found the class of complaints that arose, and when we fell back upon the original instructions of the Poor-law Commissioners in 1838, we saw nothing in those complaints which those instructions did not give ample power to remedy. I understood you to speak in the former question of Sir George Grey's Instructions to the Boundary Commissioners, and in this of the instructions of the Poor-law Commissioners.

5079. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Were the instructions of the Poor-law Commissioners instructions addressed by them to their assistant commissioners?—Yes, to the assistant commissioners, who formed originally the unions and electoral divisions.

5080. And those were quoted by you in illustration of the views which had guided the Commissioners who formed the unions?—Yes, and as being, in our view, sufficient to meet all the complaints which were addressed to us.

5081. Sir J. Graham.] How long have you been in Ireland?—Twenty years.

5082. Independently of the instructions, looking to all the difficulties of the present case, have you individually anything better to suggest with reference to the size of unions and electoral divisions than what is contained in that report?—No.

5083. The result of your 20 years' experience, and your knowledge of the country and acquaintance with all the present difficulties, concur in leading you to recommend what is there stated with regard to the size of unions and electoral divisions?—Yes.

5084. Major Blackall.] You stated that the general objection forwarded to you as to the present arrangement of unions and electoral divisions was to their being too large?—Yes; and their not being continuous with propriety.

5085. Colonel Dunne.] Have there been any complaints of great confusion being caused by setting aside ancient and recognised boundaries, and adopting new divisions?—I think that that objection has not been so great as one might have expected. I have always been an advocate for adopting the old and recognised boundaries of the country, viz., baronies and counties; and I rather wonder that complaints have not been more generally made of those ancient boundaries having been departed from.

5086. Mr. Clements.] From your knowledge of the country, do you think that any arrangement connected with the boundaries which should disregard the parish boundaries, would be very prejudicial?—The parish boundary is of the least importance to be regarded.

5087. Is there not a variation between the parish boundaries of the Protestant and of the Roman-catholic Church, and of the Presbyterian Church?—Yes.

5088. So that the only ancient and recognised boundaries are the boundaries of baronies and counties?—The boundaries of baronies and counties are the most important, they being now the boundaries for the collection of the county cess, and for many other purposes, such as hospitals, asylums, and dispensaries, and various other local charities; and that might perhaps have led people to expect that they would have been adopted as the boundaries for Poor-law purposes.

5089. Have not the boundaries of the counties and baronies been invariably adhered to with reference to the electoral division boundaries?—That is a very general question. I am not prepared to answer it either affirmatively or negatively without reference to individual cases; I am not prepared to say distinctly whether every one of the 2,000 divisions is continuous with the county and barony or not.

5091-2. You are not aware that instructions were given by the Commissioners on the formation of the unions, that electoral divisions should not extend over two counties?—No, I was not aware of that.

5092. There was a supplemental instruction that baronial divisions should be adhered to, as far as practicable?—I have not seen that; there is nothing in this instruction,

instruction, which we have extracted in our report, which requires the boundaries of counties or baronies to be adhered to invariably.

5093. Colonel *Dunne*.] Do not you think that in any new arrangement to be made of the electoral divisions it would be advisable, as far as possible, to return to the ancient and recognised boundaries?—Yes, as far as is possible; and in many cases we have attempted to do so, but the position of the existing work-houses makes it hardly practicable in many instances.

5094. Mr. *O'Flaherty*.] Would you be disposed to consider that the electoral divisions, as at present arranged by you, are too large rather than too small?—Indeed I think they are very fair; they were done with great consideration, and every case was sifted and tested in every possible way.

5095. You would assume that which you have recommended as a final arrangement for the Ballina Union?—I am not prepared to say that it may not be desirable, on the recommendation of local parties, to change some of them.

5096. In all future cases you would act upon such a division?—Yes. I may instance a case where we are prepared to recommend a change. Colonel Knox Gore has a property very close to the town of Ballina; he had never told us what his wishes were especially, but he had generally told us that he wished the boundaries of his property to be the boundaries of the electoral divisions. We accordingly made the boundary of his property the boundary of the electoral division of Ballina, entirely in accordance, as we supposed, with his wish; but Colonel Knox Gore told us, only a few days ago, that that was not his wish in that instance, because that some portion of his property adjacent to Ballina had been purchased by him subsequently to the formation of that electoral division, and that he so purchased it because it was not in the town electoral division, and that he did not wish it to be attached to that division; and then we put it back again.

5097. You took that property away from the town electoral division?—Yes.

5098. Will there be any additional barthen thrown upon the town in consequence of the alteration?—It left the town in that respect just as it was before.

5099. But it was attached to the town electoral division?—No; there was a certain portion of his property always in the town division, but he purchased property outside that division but immediately adjacent. We found that both those town lands were his property, but we did not know that he had purchased one subsequently to the division, and we took the outside boundary of his property as the boundary of the division.

5100. Did you do that in reference to the interest of Colonel Gore, or the interest of the town?—Our object was to give as large a division around the town as we could, and finding that his property went beyond the existing boundary of the town division, we were very glad to add so much more to the town division; but when he represented that it would be a very great hardship upon him to include the other property in the town division, we did not attempt to enlarge the town division by including it.

5101. In the new arrangement which you first made, you added the property to the town division?—Yes.

5102. Therefore, when you took it away afterwards from the town division, you diminished the area of taxation for the town?—We abstained from increasing it.

5103. We must assume that in the first arrangement that you made you acted in reference to the interests of all parties concerned, and in justice to the town; do you consider it just to the town to take that property away from the town division merely in deference to the wish of Colonel Gore?—You must do the best you can for every party, and it would have been unjust in that way to benefit the town. We did it because we thought it was Colonel Gore's wish, as well as beneficial to the town, and because it was all one property.

5104. You attempted to comply with his wish?—Yes.

5105. Colonel *Dunne*.] Is it not unjust to put land which does not derive any benefit from a town into a town district?—Yes, generally speaking.

5106. Mr. *Clements*.] Have you examined the returns which have been furnished, with reference to pauperism in the different electoral divisions, with a view to ascertain whether the town or the country divisions are most heavily rated at present?—No, we were not in possession of the returns you speak of. They are very recent.

5107. Are you not aware of the fact that the town electoral divisions are not so heavily rated as the country electoral divisions?—No, I was not aware of that fact.

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5108. Sir D. Norreys.] In the original instructions of Mr. Nicholl, with reference to putting the pauperised and unpauperised districts together, there are the following words used: "Care should be taken so to arrange the district as to make the relief afforded to the former as little oppressive as possible to the latter." Would you, in following those words, put this construction upon them, that it was desirable to make the burden of pauperism as little oppressive as possible to any portion of the district that you were dividing?—As little oppressive as possible, no doubt; but it is especially limited. The words are, "as little oppressive as possible to the latter;" that is, to the rich and better-conditioned district. I do not apprehend that it refers to the district at large so much as to the district that is there immediately spoken of.

5109. Major Blackall.] In the complaints which you received respecting the electoral divisions being of too great a size, did the parties state in what way that acted disadvantageously to the working of the poor law?—They urged that the too great size of the electoral divisions prevented the parties possessing property in them from co-operating together, either for the relief of the necessary and natural distress of the country, or from diminishing and preventing it under present circumstances.

5110. Are you aware from your general knowledge of Ireland, and from your residence in it, that that has been the case, arising from the too great size of the electoral divisions?—As I have never been engaged in the practical administration of the poor law, I am not able to speak to that of my own knowledge, but I witnessed the operation of the Labour-rate Act, and of Mr. Labouchere's Letter, and I have no doubt that if those divisions had been much smaller, the latter would have acted much more generally than it did.

5111. Do you consider the reduction which will be made in the size of the electoral divisions upon the principle laid down in your report, will be sufficient to ensure greater encouragement to the giving of employment?—It will make it more probable.

5112. Do you think that that principle could be carried out with advantage any further, or do you think that in your report it has been carried out as far as possible?—Our object is to carry it out as far as possible; that is, as far as is consistent with the other elements of the question, and the other interests concerned.

5113. Mr. P. Scrope.] Are we to take the divisions you have made of the Ballina Union as a standard sample of the probable amount of subdivision you would recommend with reference to the rest of Ireland?—Yes, generally so, in districts of that class; that is in great part a very mountainous district.

5114. Have you given in the tables any average of the population, the area, and the valuation of the electoral divisions into which you have divided Ballina?—No, we have not given any average in the table; but in a paragraph of the report we have given a general statement which contains pretty much the information that would be given by an average. I have, however, made out this morning a little average of them. In the old Ballina Union, the electoral divisions average 29,832 acres, and the area of the new ones is 11,294 acres; the population of the old ones was 7,105, and of the new ones it is 2,833; the valuation of the old ones was 5,715 £, and of the new it is 2,128 £. I have also made a similar average of the electoral divisions of the county of Clare, which we have divided subsequently to our report, and it gives this result. In Clare the old electoral divisions averaged 13,260 acres, and the new ones 6,586; the population of the old electoral divisions in Clare was 4,715, and of the new ones it is 2,375; the valuation of the old electoral divisions was 4,500 £, and the new ones 2,177 £. Now, I should observe that Clare was divided upon its own merits, each division being separately considered and separately weighed, and so was Ballina. And it was not till I took out these figures this morning, that I saw how nearly we had arrived at the same average in those two counties, which I take to be a proof that, although it is impossible to fix a maximum and minimum, or an average, the application of the same general principle does, on the whole, approach to it.

5115. Then assuming that we may take your division of those two counties as the average sample of what the divisions will be throughout the rest of Ireland, you having doubled the number of electoral divisions in the Ballina Union, we may assume that you would double the number of electoral divisions throughout

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out Ireland?—That is the average result of the figures, and that average may probably be assumed of districts similarly situated to those. I think I heard the observation made that the old electoral divisions of Clare were nearly the same in area as the new electoral divisions of Ballina, and the figures correspond, from which there would at first sight be no reason for subdividing those of Clare; but that arises from the great extent of waste land in Mayo. If we take the cultivated portion of the two counties, we find that the average of the cultivated land in Ballina, in the new divisions, is only 903 acres, and the cultivated portion in Clare is 1,172 acres; so that though the Clare divisions in average extent are not half the size of Ballina, they are actually larger in regard to cultivated land.

5116. You are going to extend your alteration of the electoral divisions throughout the whole of Ireland?—No, not throughout the whole; in the north there is very little change required.

5117. What is the area over which your alterations will probably extend?—I should say generally two-thirds of the country.

5118. That is chiefly in the west and south?—Yes, and the central district.

5119. Do you think that over that portion of the country we may assume that you will ultimately recommend the same average subdivisions that you have recommended for Ballina and Clare?—I think that would be generalizing too hastily; it would be probably very near the mark, but it is mere guess to say so. I have already said that every division is separately considered, and therefore it is very difficult to generalize.

5120. Do you think that parties would be wrong who should conclude that in that portion of the country there would be no very material diminution of the areas of taxation?—No, the districts differ so much among themselves that I think you must see the fallacy of applying the average even of the whole of those two districts to two-thirds of the country. You will find for example that the Belmullet portion of the Ballina Union is now comprised in two electoral divisions, and I think we have made 14 electoral divisions of it; while in some others we have left the number very little greater than we found it. If you were to assume Belmullet as the average, you would multiply the number of electoral divisions by seven, which would be very fallacious; so that I doubt whether the districts in question are sufficient to give a correct average for the whole country.

5121. You are aware that there is a very general feeling throughout Ireland that each landowner should be responsible for his own poor?—Yes.

5122. It is said that, in anticipation of the areas of taxation being reduced, clearances are being carried on on a large scale; are you aware of that?—No, I am not aware that clearances have been carried on in anticipation of a reduction of the size of the electoral divisions.

5123. Do you think it would be unwise in parties to anticipate such a minute subdivision under your recommendation as would leave the landowners only responsible for the poor resident on their estates; would they be miscalculating?—They would.

5124. You do not anticipate the possibility of being able to carry the subdivision so far as to render every landowner, or anything like every landowner, responsible only for the poor on his estate?—It would be perfectly possible to make every estate a rateable area, but I think it would be injudicious.

5125. You do not anticipate carrying division to that extent, or adopting that principle?—No.

5126. At the same time you are aware that mixing up properties in the same rating division has a very serious effect in burdening improving landowners, who employ the population upon their estates, with the pauperism of neighbouring estates, where there is no employment given?—Yes; that is a very common complaint.

5127. Do not you think it a just complaint, and one that it is desirable to remedy?—Yes, as far as possible.

5128. But you do not think it desirable to remedy it by an estate area of taxation?—No.

5129. Do you think it would be desirable to remedy it by making every estate, or every townland, or a combination of townlands, answerable only for the employment or for the maintenance of their proportion of the population of the union or the division?—I think that would be injudicious.

5130. Upon what ground?—It would destroy everything like community of

I think it is perfectly fair, because I think if a man gives labour, the result of which is beneficial to him, he is repaid by the benefit he derives from it. If he gives labour which is not beneficial to him, he is only exercising benevolence. No doubt it is a much better description of benevolence than giving money by the wayside; but I do not think that it would be right that that should exempt him from the poor-rate.

5142. Is not your answer applicable to the state of things which exists in England, or which we may hope to see prevailing in Ireland some years hence, but not applicable to the exigencies in which Ireland is at present, and in which productive land is the one thing requisite to save her?—The whole of the arrangements as to boundaries which we have been endeavouring to make, have ultimate reference to the ordinary state of the country.

5143. Do not you think that such a principle as that might be with some advantage introduced as a temporary measure in order to meet the extreme difficulty of Ireland at the present moment?—I feel difficulty in answering that question, because it involves a great many other considerations and questions; but from the experience I have had of giving labour as a means of relief, I should say that it has been so disastrous that I should be very sorry so see it resorted to any further.

5144. You were largely employed under the Labour Rate Act?—Yes, it was under the Board of Works, and Mr. Griffith and myself were the Commissioners who had charge of that Act.

5145. Sir J. Graham.] You have described the effects of the Labour Rate Act as disastrous; will you be good enough to state what those effects were?—What I mean by disastrous is, that a large number of people were employed who never ought to have obtained relief at all, and who were not justly entitled to it, and it was exceedingly difficult to manage them; the works which they executed were often badly executed, so that the object of public works was not attained, and the relief was very ill applied and at a very expensive rate. I think a great deal more has been said against the measure than is fairly to be ascribed to it; but it was expensive as a measure of relief, and it was not successful as a measure of public works. The mistake was in making labour auxiliary to relief. That is the principle of the labour rate, which, in my opinion, is fallacious, and every approach to that principle seems to me to be fallacious on the same grounds.

5146. Mr. P. Scrope.] Do not you think that one principal cause of the failure of the Labour Rate Act was that labour was given as the sole means of relief to the helpless poor, who could not labour at all?—I do not think that in its origin it was intended to employ the helpless, looking to the analogy of the small example we had in 1832, and in some other years. There had been in those years partial distresses in particular counties, which lasted for a very short time, for a month or two in some districts, and there was then an abundance of food in the districts round, and they happened to be districts in which labour was wanted, and in which roads were beneficial. The condition of things at that time was very different from the condition of things at the time the Labour Rate Act was extended over the whole country, where such works were not wanted, and when there was no food in the country. But in framing the relief on that analogy, it was not intended that the helpless and infirm people should be employed, although some members of their families might be relieved; but the distress was such that it became indispensable to put the helpless and infirm upon the works. I do not think that was the main cause of the failure; I think that the cause of the failure was the mistaken principle which could not at that time be foreseen, because the whole calamity burst upon the country quite unexpectedly, and it was without any parallel; everybody stood against it; nobody could devise a better measure, and but for that measure very considerable numbers would have died.

5147. Supposing that at that time out-door relief under the poor law could have been legally given to the helpless poor, would not that have relieved the Labour Rate Act from a very large charge that was brought upon it?—Decidedly it would; and, provided also that no works had been undertaken but such as were useful; but many of the works that were undertaken were merely for the relief of the poor. It was necessary that the poor should be employed in the particular district, and therefore the magistrates at sessions were obliged to find some work in that district even though it was useless.

5148. Was not that necessity in a great degree brought about by changing
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the labour rose with the maintenance of the helpless poor as well as of the able-bodied?—It would have occurred to some extent under any state of things. The error was in the principle of supposing that public works could be everywhere found to employ the poor people, and in making public works auxiliary to relief. One result has been, that public works have themselves been brought into disrepute.

5149. Was there not this additional error, that the public works on which you were allowed to employ the able-bodied poor were confined to roads and such other works as were within the jurisdiction of the grand juries, and you were not allowed to employ the people on any other works?—No doubt that was a great evil. There were many works which the grand juries are not competent to execute which it would have been very desirable to execute; at the same time the great evil in my opinion was, that from making public works ancillary to relief we were obliged to find work of the simplest character.

5150. You had the power of employing any number of persons in making new roads or in altering old roads, but you had not the power of employing them in making drains, however valuable such drains might be to the district, with a view to render productive thousands of acres which were rendered barren by water?—The labour rate only empowered the Government to do what counties could have done.

5151. They might make roads through different properties, but they were not empowered to make drains through those properties?—No.

5152. *Chairman.*] Were not the Board of Works empowered, under Mr. Labouchere's letter, to make drains?—Under the Extension Act that power was given, and under Mr. Labouchere's letter many useful works were introduced.

5153. How long was it after the first attempt to put the Labour Act into operation that the first works under Mr. Labouchere's letter took place?—The labour rate began to work at the end of August, and Mr. Labouchere's letter came into operation in October.

5154. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] But Mr. Labouchere's works were confined to those properties of which the proprietors assented in writing to their estates being charged?—Yes.

5155. Was it not the fact that, in the distressed unions where the paupers were the most numerous, you could not get the assent of the proprietors, and therefore the people were employed solely upon the roads?—I do not know that the greater or less abundance of paupers interfered with the facility of getting that consent.

5156. But were there not many instances in which you could not get the assent of the proprietors, and therefore the Labouchere works were not proceeded with; and in consequence of your failing to get the consent, the poor were obliged to be employed unproductively upon useless roads?—Yes; where the Labouchere works were not undertaken, it was still necessary to employ the people, and they were employed upon works that were unprofitable; but I think a good deal more has been said about the inutility of the works than ought fairly to have been said.

5157. *Chairman.*] When you had obtained the consent of the landowners, were the people in all cases willing to leave the public works, and to go to work on drainage, at taskwork, and by measurement, which was the prescribed condition?—No, they preferred the so-called public works.

5158. Did not they in many cases defeat the intention of Mr. Labouchere's letter by refusing to work at taskwork?—I think it would be too much to say that, because we turned the people off the public works which they were working on, both classes of works being under our direction; when the engineer in charge of the drainage required a certain number of labourers, they were thrown off the public works, and compelled to go to that drainage.

5159. Was it not found that wherever the test of taskwork, or working by measurement, was applied to the labourers on the public works, a great diminution of their numbers immediately took place?—They did not like to work at the Labouchere works because they were compelled to exert themselves a good deal more than they had done on the public works; but I should hesitate to say that they left the work rather than submit to it; they sometimes resorted to all sorts of expedients in order to defeat the measurement of their work, but I should doubt whether many of them left the work altogether.

5160. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Was it not the general report of the engineering officers who employed the poor upon the Labouchere works, that, on the whole, they

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they worked very creditably, and endeavoured to learn their work of digging drains; and that their conduct was, on the whole, exemplary?—I think it may be stated they worked very creditably. I should hesitate in adopting the word "exemplary;" but their conduct was, on the whole, very good.

5161. Was there not a marked contrast between the persons employed on the Labouchere works and those generally employed on the road works?—Yes; those employed on the Labouchere works were far more industrious, and the works were in every way better executed.

5162. Do you attribute that contrast in some degree to the fact, that the labourers employed on the Labouchere works knew that the work was useful and productive, while their employment on the roads they were aware was useless to a great extent, and rather sham work than otherwise?—No doubt, to some extent, that feeling must have prevailed; but I think a sufficient cause for the difference is to be found in the comparatively small number of persons employed upon the Labouchere works, and their being therefore more ably superintended; and also in the fact that none of the infirm, weak, and helpless people were put on those works. As people had consented to be charged individually for those works, it was felt that it would be an injustice to encumber them with weak and helpless people.

5163. Supposing the weak and helpless had been put upon out-door relief, and that the able-bodied only had been employed by you, and that you had had powers given you to carry out arterial drainage, or even thorough drainage, without waiting for the consent of the proprietors; could not you have employed the money you spent much more beneficially, so as to produce a return far greater than is ever likely to arise from the roads that have been made?—No doubt arterial drainage would be more useful than roads, and no doubt it would decrease the poor-rates if works of arterial drainage were carried on in districts wanting relief.

5164. Sir L. O'Brien.] Did you ever hear that the amount of drainage per acre under Mr. Labouchere's letter was excessive?—It varied in different cases. It, of course, cost more than it would in ordinary times; but I think, on the average, it did not cost more than the work was worth. I may perhaps be allowed while on that subject to instance the judicious conduct of Lord Clare, who thought when he was called upon to pay for the work performed on his estate, that it was very expensive, and he took pains to have it carefully examined. He employed a party who was then executing some drainage for him under the Land Improvement Act; and though the expense of the Labouchere works was, in pounds, shillings, and pence, very nearly double that of the present works, Lord Clare had the good sense to ascertain the prices of provisions at that time in the different markets of Ireland, and he found that, taking the prices of provisions and other circumstances of the time into account, the expense of the Labouchere works was not considerably greater than the expense of the works under the Land Improvement Act.

5165. Mr. P. Scrope.] Do you think there would have been any greater interference with the rights of private property if the Legislature or the Government had authorized you to dig and make drains through land or property, by which a good deal of land would have been rendered productive, than to make a road through the same property, which road turns out not to be wanted?—That is more a question for the Legislature than for me.

5166. Would it have been a greater interference with the rights of private property?—Assuming the cases to be the same, and that you go through the property with your work, it does not signify whether the work is a drain or a road.

5167. If drains had been made instead of roads, would not a great deal of the money that has been expended on useless works have been expended upon productive works?—If the five millions had been expended in arterial drainage, it would have been better than expending it upon roads. But I do not think there is an exact analogy, because you could not always have had that drainage in the circumstances and position in which those roads were.

5168. Colonel Doone.] Have not the greater part of the Irish gentry made continual representations against the employment on useless works. Was there not a meeting of 700 gentlemen in Dublin, who made a representation to that effect?—I have no doubt that many of the Irish gentry did object to it.

5169. Do you think that they would have opposed the drainage of the lands?—That question could not arise under the powers given by the Act.

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5170. Were there not several propositions laid before the Government by the Irish gentry for employing the people in several of the distressed districts in productive works?—I do not know that any works were asked for which were not done; but the powers of the Board of Works were extremely circumscribed; they could not under the Act execute any works without a presentment in special sessions.

5171. Were not other works submitted by the Irish gentry to the Government as a substitute for the works which, under the Act, the Board of Works were empowered to execute?—I believe there were; but Parliament was not sitting at the time.

5172. Were not many of the works which were actually undertaken objected to in certain districts?—Very probably they were, because the primary object of the works was the relief of the poor, and the utility of the works was a secondary consideration.

5173. Was not the Board of Works totally unprovided with a staff to superintend the works?—The staff did not exist.

5174. Therefore, an obligation to perform the works was thrown on the Board which it was perfectly impossible for the Board to discharge?—Yes, the difficulty was far greater than was anticipated.

5175. Mr. O'Flaherty.] Do you think that in many instances where applications were made upon sufficient grounds to substitute the works under Mr. Labouchere's letter for the other class of works, those applications were refused?—No, I am not aware of it in the shape in which you put the question, nor do I exactly see the meaning of it; it was not in the power of the Board of Works to substitute the Labouchere works for the other works.

5176. It was in the power of the special sessions to propose works under Mr. Labouchere's letter, as a substitute for other works; and under such circumstances, the requirements of the law being complied with, did the Board of Works refuse their sanction to works under Mr. Labouchere's letter?—Not to my knowledge.

5177. It might have occurred without your knowledge?—No, I think not.

5178. I will give the instance of the barony of Moycullen, in the county of Galway; there was a special sessions, in which works were proposed under Mr. Labouchere's letter, and refused by the Board of Works?—I cannot remember that individual case, but I think I may venture to say it could not have been exactly as you state. The sessions may have intended to proceed under Mr. Labouchere's letter, but in consequence of their not acting strictly according to the terms of it, it may have been impossible to act upon the presentment. There were many cases in which the parties did not comply with the terms of the letter, which were explicitly laid down, but were not always understood.

5179. Colonel Dunne.] Was not there one requirement in the Act that you must adopt all the works under Mr. Labouchere's letter, or all the works under the Labour Rate Act; you could not make a division of them in one electoral division?—No.

5180. Did that in a great measure prevent the adoption of Mr. Labouchere's letter?—Yes.

5181. And the great cause of the failure of the labour rate was the impossibility of the Board of Works providing a staff sufficient to superintend the works?—That was the cause of the executive failure, but that is quite distinct from the radical error which, I think, lies at the root of the whole system of a labour rate.

5182. I understood you to say that many people were employed on the works who were not in fact fit to be employed?—No doubt there were.

5183. Was not that forced on the local gentry and the ratepayers, by the Government requiring them to employ those persons?—I do not know that the Government exercised any compulsion; but the people were starving at their doors, and there was no other way of relieving them except by employing them on those works.

5184. Did not the objection, in certain districts, to acting upon Mr. Labouchere's letter arise from the proprietors being aware that the Board of Works could not employ an efficient staff of persons, and that therefore the works would be expensive?—That I have no means of knowing, because it depends upon the presentments of the sessions whether the works are undertaken or not.

5185. It

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5185. It would be a sufficient reason, would it not, for the proprietors objecting?—I doubt that very much.

5186. Have you ever heard that 40*l.* an acre has been expended in drainage under Mr. Labouchere's letter, the works being still incomplete, on the property of Mr. Sleasman, and that on the property of Mr. Ormsby Geo 32*l.* an acre has been expended?—I do not know the particular cases to which you refer, but I remember that in the neighbourhood of Limerick there was a good deal of combination among the men, and they were going on so extravagantly that it was necessary to stop the Labouchere works altogether.

5187. Did not that proceed from the impossibility of the Board of Works obtaining proper officers to superintend the men?—No doubt that was a great difficulty, and if those works had been as general as the works under the Labour Rate Act it would have been impossible; drainage was newer than it is now, and it was difficult to obtain people who were competent to do it.

5188. Do not you think, if the money laid out under the Labour Rate Act had been laid out in the ordinary cultivation of the land, that we should have had less destitution?—We should have had much greater production.

5189. And consequently less destitution?—I do not know that that is a consequence.

5190. *Chairman.*] The electoral divisions, as you propose to reduce them in the south, will be assimilated very much to those in the north?—I think it is probable it will be so. I have endeavoured to show, with reference to Clare and Ballina, that though they were considered on their own merits, they approximate very closely; and I think it very probable, therefore, that they may be very near the size of the divisions in the north; but each must be considered on its own merits.

5191. Generally speaking, the parties in the north are not unwilling to remain as they are?—No.

5192. Are there not many cases of three, four, or more estates being comprised in the same electoral division?—Yes.

5193. From your knowledge of Ireland, do you think it hopeless to expect a combination of landed proprietors in areas of that extent, in the employment of the people?—I fear they may not always combine.

5194. But it being shown that the outlay is profitable, do you think they would combine?—I should hope they would.

5195. *Mr. Meneall.*] Your great object in the regulating the size of electoral divisions has been to make "such a reduction in area of the present electoral divisions as shall give every practical advantage to the zealous improver without unduly restricting the field of the labourer's employment"?—Yes, those are the words of the report.

5196. Have you adopted the principle of uniting pauperized and unpauperized townlands with a view to equalizing taxation?—Not merely with that view; our effort has been to diminish the electoral divisions, and recast the country, taking care that the number of people in each district shall be sufficient for the labour of that district, and preserving as fair a valuation as possible.

5197. But still you have made the object of preserving as fair a valuation as possible a very leading principle in your arrangements?—Yes; but it is difficult to add single townlands; we endeavour to add properties to the electoral division.

5198. Do you think it just to put pauperized townlands in combination with those which are not so pauperized, merely for the sake of producing this equality of taxation?—Such a case can hardly occur; we do not deal with single townlands generally, but with properties.

5199. I will put my question, substituting properties for townlands?—I think it may sometimes be necessary.

5200. That is to say, merely for the sake of producing equality of taxation, you think it desirable to put pauperized properties in combination with those which are not so pauperized?—Not for the sake of producing equality of taxation, but for the sake of procuring a sufficient amount of valuation in the district to support the people of that district.

5201. Take the case of a property which, since the Act of 1838, has been put into a good condition, is it just to defeat thus the beneficial results to which the landowner is clearly entitled, and thus to deprive him of the benefit which he

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has obtained by great expenditure of capital?—Unless there was some necessity for doing so we should not do it.

5202. Do you take into account the fact of a great expenditure of capital having been recently incurred by a proprietor?—We are not generally cognizant of that; we are guided by the official valuation of the property.

5203. All you consider with regard to the principle you are now speaking of is simply the question of the actual condition of the properties which you think of uniting together?—Yes we are not generally cognizant of anything more.

5204. You have found some congestions of the population in many districts; do you conceive that that forms a great obstacle to their improvement?—I apprehend it does, if it occurs in districts where so great an amount of labour is not required.

5205. Do you conceive that any alteration in the size of electoral divisions can put capital and labour in a healthy proportion in such districts?—It might assist in doing so; but I think it is rather an argument for keeping the divisions as large as possible.

5206. By what means do you think this object could be accomplished?—You must have recourse to emigration, where you have more people in the district than the district requires.

5207. Do you see any other means but emigration of getting rid of the surplus population?—No. If you have more people in the district than the district requires there is no other remedy for that but emigration or migration.

5208. Therefore, you consider it absolutely essential for the improvement of those districts that somehow or other emigration should take place?—Yes.

5209. Are you aware of the sort of emigration which is now going on in Ireland, as regards the class of emigrants?—I know it only from hearsay, and from what one sees in Dublin of the people embarking, and generally they appear to be a respectable class of people. It has occurred to me, the office in which I am employed being at the Customhouse, to see the people who embarked for harvest labour in former years and the people now embarking in emigrant ships, and there is no doubt the people embarking in emigrant ships are very superior to the people who embarked for harvest labour.

5210. Therefore the class of persons now going are not the class which you consider it would be desirable to assist to emigrate?—Decidedly not; that class are not too abundant.

5211. Therefore the emigration that is now taking place is not restoring the balance which you consider it desirable to restore between the capital and the labour of the country?—If I am right in what I have stated, clearly it is not; but I have no recent local knowledge to enable me to speak to it.

5212. Supposing any general facilities to have been afforded to emigration, would the knowledge of this have led you to divide the electoral divisions in a manner different from the manner in which you have divided them?—I should have felt great difficulty in taking such a hypothetical case into consideration.

5213. Supposing there were general facilities afforded, it would not be a hypothetical case?—Generally speaking we must deal with the country as we find it, rather than look to uncertain contingencies.

5214. Sir D. Newry.] In respect to the electoral divisions in the unions which are satisfied with their present state, though they may not exactly accord with your views of what they ought to be, what would be your course of proceeding?—I think our wish is to let them alone, if we do not receive complaints. We have not sought to invite complaints.

5215. How far would you adhere to the principle which you have stated, of adhering as much as possible to property boundaries in the case of electoral divisions, which you found divided into two properties, one-half being rich land and not being very much encumbered with people, and the other being poor land and very much over-peopled; would you still adhere to the property boundaries, or would you try to equalise the population in the two divisions?—We should adhere, if possible, to the property boundaries; I consider that the adoption of the property boundaries is a concession made with a view to meet the present difficulties of the country. I cannot doubt that as a general principle more permanent boundaries than property boundaries ought to be adopted. But the first imposition of such a law as the poor law renders it desirable to give every possible facility to its well working; and I consider that the adoption of the boundaries of properties is a very great help to the law at its first starting; but I do not think that the boundaries

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boundaries hereafter of electoral divisions should be lightly changed with every change of property, though cases may arise to render change desirable, and I think the power should be left to the Poor-law Commissioners, as it now is. And in regard to the case you have explicitly put, I think it would depend upon the size of the electoral divisions, and upon the size and circumstances of the electoral divisions around them.

5216. In the re-arrangement of any electoral division, do you look principally to the area, the population, and the valuation; or principally to the boundaries of properties?—To the area, the population, and the valuation; but considering the properties as the units to be combined to form the electoral division, *i. e.* instead of combining parishes or single townlands, we try to combine properties.

5217. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] At present is the parish of the Established Church of Ireland an area for any purpose of local taxation?—It is for the very small taxes which are imposed by the vestry for coffins for the poor, and for some other small charges of that kind, but not for heavy charges such as county rates.

5218. Are those vestry rates in practice ever levied?—They are I believe generally levied in Dublin and in some other places with which I am acquainted. There is also the rent-change, which is paid within the parish of the Established Church.

5219. Is there any body in the nature of a vestry, or any local body, which taxes the parish as a single area?—Except for the purposes I have stated, I do not think there is.

5220. Do you happen to know whether the boundaries of many of the parishes in Ireland belonging to the Established Church are forgotten?—No, the boundaries of parishes are all perfectly known. In making the Ordnance survey very great care was taken to ascertain them. The cure of souls, or the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, does not always run in the parishes; on the contrary, it is very often a subdivision of a parish. I know several instances in which a parish is divided into three or four cures of souls, and other instances where several parishes are united into one cure of souls.

5221. Chairman.] In the vast majority of cases, is not the townland the boundary of the electoral division?—Yes; it must be so by the Poor Law Act.

5222. Are not instances very rare, if any exist, in which a townland is found divided into two parishes?—It is never divided in the Ordnance survey. Formerly many townlands extended across the parish boundary, but whenever a parish boundary, or any greater boundary, cut a townland, it became two townlands by the Ordnance survey, and is so used in the levy of the county cess.

5223. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Do you think it would be practicable or convenient to take the parishes of the Established Church as areas of taxation for the poor law in Ireland?—They vary so much in size, and are so inconvenient, that I doubt whether the parish boundary could be, as a general rule, adopted.

5224. Are the parishes of the Protestant and the Roman-catholic Church identical?—Not always, and they are differently combined; several of the parishes are often divided into three or four parts for the cure of souls, and three or four parishes are sometimes united. The Roman-catholic parishes are in the same way divided and combined, but always of the same elements. In the neighbourhood of Dublin, for example, the parishes of Castleknock, Clonsilla, and Mulhuddart are one Protestant union, or one cure, but the Roman-catholic cures are differently combined with those around them, so that though the units of the two are the same, they are differently compounded for the cure of souls.

5225. Speaking generally, are not the boundaries of Roman-catholic and Protestant parishes different?—The district for the care of souls is frequently different.

5226. Colonel Donnan.] Is that frequent?—It frequently happens; I do not say that it is universal.

5227. At the Reformation the Protestants adopted the same districts for parishes, and any difference has arisen since that time?—Yes. The reason is obvious; the parish boundaries cannot be altered, but the Lord Lieutenant in Council can combine or sever any that he pleases for ecclesiastical purposes.

5228. Mr. Clements.] How do you propose to deal with town electoral divisions?—Our object has been to make the town electoral divisions rather larger than the country electoral divisions, and to include so much of the country as was influenced by the town.

5229. For what reason do you propose to do that?—From feeling that the town is the receptacle of those who are evicted from the rural districts.

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5230. If it turns out to be the fact, that the town divisions are now not rated so heavily as many of the country divisions, do you think it would be fair and reasonable to increase the size of the town divisions, for the purpose of diminishing their rates?—No; if they should turn out to be more lightly taxed, it would not be necessary.

5231. Do you think that it is a fair principle to adopt, in forming electoral divisions, that all lands deriving an increased value from their propinquity to the town, should be included in the town division?—Yes; that is our effort. As I have said before, all lands influenced by towns were included in the town electoral division.

5232. Are you aware that that principle has been acted upon to a considerable extent in the northern unions?—Yes, I think it has.

5233. Do you know any case in those northern unions, where that principle has been acted upon, in which townland divisions have been unduly taxed, in comparison with the country divisions?—I am not aware of any case. Our report states how the divisions round Killala are laid out. After describing the valuation, the acreage, and the population of the rural divisions generally, this paragraph occurs: "The town division, Killala, has the largest value, being liable to peculiar pressure." Our effort was to give a larger value to the town, because we know that that town is liable to peculiar pressure; and we endeavour, therefore, to provide against that.

5234. I understood you to say that you proposed to make the town electoral divisions embrace a larger area of country than the country electoral divisions?—I should rather have said a larger valuation, as is here indicated.

5235. Do you propose to go beyond the principle which I alluded to just now, that of confining the area of town divisions to lands where increased value is derived from their propinquity to the town?—No; I think that is a very fair rule, and I do not apprehend that in any case it would be necessary to go beyond that. It is difficult to answer supposititious cases; but my impression is, that that is a fair principle to act upon.

5236. If you adopted that principle, the area of the town divisions would be smaller than the area of the country divisions?—I do not know that; it depends very much upon the size of the town. If you take Dublin or Belfast, the size would be very different from the size in the case of a small town.

5237. Mr. O'Flaherty.] To what distance from a town do you suppose the land is affected by the propinquity of the town?—That depends entirely upon the size of the town, and its nature; there is a very great difference between cities like Cork and Dublin, having mixed industry, and towns in the rural districts, with little industry in them; every single case must be taken by itself.

5238. Sir J. Graham.] Have you in the discharge of your various duties visited the greater portion of Ireland?—Yes; I have been in almost every part of Ireland.

5239. The Ordnance survey was at one time under your direction?—I had the local charge of the Ordnance Survey Office, in the Phoenix Park.

5240. And you have been a member of the Board of Works?—Yes, and am now.

5241. Have you had an opportunity of personally inspecting a large portion of the waste lands of Ireland?—Yes, I have seen a good deal of them; I have never made any express examination of the waste lands with a specific view to their reclamation, but it has occurred to me to traverse them.

5242. Have you been able to form an opinion with respect to the reclamation of any considerable portion of what are termed waste lands in Ireland?—I think we have plenty of land in the south and west which is badly cultivated, and which might be improved.

5243. You conceive any outlay of capital on what is termed waste land, until there is a further outlay of capital upon land that is at present badly cultivated, would not be a profitable investment either of private money or of the money of the public?—As a general rule, I think it would not; there may be particular instances where money may be invested profitably in reclaiming waste lands.

5244. Does the quantity of waste land vary much in different parts of Ireland?—Yes, very much; depending upon the lands being more or less perfectly drained; and their exposure to the south or the north; and their being more or less traversed by roads; and there being more or less means of getting at them.

5245. Does the substratum of those waste lands vary very much?—Yes, it does

does vary with the geological character of the country, but the immediate substratum is pretty much the same, viz., marl.

5246. Are there many districts in which there is marl lying under black peat moss?—Yes; a certain class of bogs which seem to have been formed in the basins of lakes, usually have a substratum of marl.

5247. Are there considerable tracts of such land, viz., black peat moss on the surface, and marl as the substratum?—Yes. I have seen many such tracts in Donegal and other parts.

5248. Speaking of Ireland generally, is the extent considerable of such land?—It lies in detached pieces rather than over great tracts.

5249. You would conceive that that land is most easily reclaimable, and with the greatest profit?—Yes.

5250. At what depth is the marl lying below the surface?—It varies from considerable depths to six feet, and sometimes three or four.

5251. Are there considerable tracts of three or four feet of black peat moss, with a marl substratum?—I should doubt there being considerable tracts of such land.

5252. Speaking generally you would say the application of capital to the improvement of waste land would, in your opinion, not be judicious whilst so much land already in cultivation is not brought up to its full measure of production?—As an outlay of capital it would, I think, be more advantageous to improve land under the Land Improvement Act than to reclaim waste land. It is open to proprietors to borrow for the reclamation of waste land as well as the improvement of the land that they have in cultivation; so that if one were to get a return of the proportions of the loan which had been expended in reclaiming and in improving, you would get a fair measure of the advantages which were anticipated by the parties themselves from adopting one course and the other.

5253. Do you think that there are many tracts of land in Connaught where the existing population is not more than sufficient to bring the land of the country into a state of production equal to that of Ulster, say the county of Down, or of Armagh, where the population is the most dense in Ireland; that is to say, are there many tracts of land in Connaught where it is not necessary to diminish the population, with a view of working the land productively?—No doubt there are some districts of that kind, and, on the whole, in a fair state of things, I think that the greater part of the population might be employed; but still at present the population is more than sufficient, and in many districts the population is congested, as Mr. Monsell expresses it; it is more than enough. There may be other districts in which there is a deficiency of population. I have not been lately in Connemara or in Mayo, but I am told that the population there has diminished to such an extent as to leave a large part of the land untilled for want of labourers.

5254. You are aware that the population of Armagh and Down is larger than in any part of Connaught?—Yes.

5255. Is the fertility of the soil in Armagh and Down greater than the fertility of the soil in the county of Connaught?—The mixed industry that they have in the counties of Armagh and Down enables the population there to be more dense; they have manufactures.

5256. Do you think that the success of industry in the counties of Armagh and Down mainly depends upon the intermixture of manufactures with the cultivation of the soil?—I apprehend it does.

5257. Do not you know districts purely agricultural in parts of Down, where there is no other means of industry, and where the population is very dense?—Yes, I can refer to the district of Markethill; I do not know that there is any considerable amount of spinning in the immediate neighbourhood, and yet the farms are very small and the cultivation is very good; that is attributable to the exertions of Lord Gosford's agent, Mr. Blacker.

5258. Mr. Monsell.] Are you aware that in that district the population are rapidly sinking in point of comfort?—No.

5259. You are not aware that Mr. Blacker has changed his views as to the possibility of the people existing upon those farms?—If the potato should cease entirely, it must materially alter the position of that question; I apprehend Mr. Blacker's views were framed very much in reference to the potato crop, but he also looks to cattle and stall feeding.

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5260. You think the prosperity of Markethill a good deal depends upon the prosperity of the potato?—The smallness of the farms may have depended upon that.

5261. Colonel *Donne*.] Is it the fact which seems to be assumed in some of the previous questions, that the cultivation in Armagh and Down is very much superior to the cultivation in other parts of Ireland?—On the whole, I believe it is.

5262. Is it better than the cultivation in parts of Queen's County?—There are parts of Queen's County that are exceedingly good. I happen to have here the Agricultural Returns for 1847 and 1848 of portions of that county.

5263. Have the counties fallen off enormously in the last agricultural returns, particularly in cattle?—The new returns are not yet sufficiently complete to enable me to make a general comparison.

5264. Mr. *Moswell*.] What proportion of the population in the county of Mayo depends upon agriculture?—I do not remember the precise figures, but it is an immense proportion.

5265. Seventy-eight per cent.!—Probably; it is stated in the census.

5266. Do you know the proportion in Lincolnshire?—No.

5267. Mr. *O'Flaherty*.] Do you think that the money borrowed under the Land Improvement Act affords a fair criterion of the advantages of reclaiming or improving land?—It shows the relative advantages anticipated by the proprietors who have availed themselves of it.

5268. Is it not the fact that the loans under the Land Improvement Act have been applied with a view to get as quick a return as possible upon the lands of a superior class?—No doubt; and that is the best measure of their interests.

5269. Would not money expended upon a different class of land be well applied also?—It is hard to say whether it would be well applied; but Sir James Graham's question was with reference to the relative advantages of reclaiming waste land or improving land at present cultivated; and as we have had the public money available for both purposes, the degree in which proprietors have availed themselves of the Act for the one purpose or the other is a very good test of what they consider the relative advantages of the two.

5270. *Chairman*.] What you say is, that as far as your experience goes it is your opinion that money can be better expended in improving the land now in cultivation than in taking in new land?—Yes.

5271. Sir *J. Graham*.] Does the population of Ireland generally exceed what is necessary for the proper cultivation of the land now in cultivation?—That is a very general question.

5272. It is a general question; but I ask that question with reference to the expediency of bringing the waste land into cultivation. Would you say that it would be more profitable to employ a portion of the population in bringing the waste land into cultivation than it would be to distribute the population over the cultivated lands of Ireland?—I would rather they were distributed over the ill-cultivated lands, but I see no immediate mode of effecting such a distribution.

5273. Mr. *P. Scrope*.] Supposing such a process were necessary on the part of Government or the Legislature, do you think that it would be considered a less interference with the rights of proprietors of property that the Legislature should take up waste lands and employ the population upon them, than that they should adopt that process with reference to the lands already in cultivation?—I do not know how it is contemplated to introduce the interference of the Legislature, but if the Government were to undertake the work themselves, it might be better to deal with the waste lands. Such a step, however, involves many other considerations, and it is not a mere question between the relative advantages of reclaiming or improving.

5274. Mr. *Moswell*.] Do you think it would be possible to induce the proprietors in Meath and Kildare to allow the surplus population in Mayo to come and settle themselves upon their land?—I do not know. It is very difficult on one side of the Shannon to allow people from the other side to come and settle there, but this merely arises from local antipathies among the people themselves, and the questions to which I have been replying assumed a want of labourers in particular districts. If such were the case in Meath and Kildare, it would be the interest of the proprietors that labourers should come to them.

5275. Mr.

5275. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] In answer to the circulars which you sent round to the Boards of Guardians, have you received any opinion in favour of the adoption of townlands universally as areas of taxation for the poor-rates?—Yes; people have advocated that under various forms; various Boards have proposed the making the townland a practical unit; Mr. Crosby, of Ardferret Abbey, a most intelligent gentleman, has proposed a mode in which the townland shall bear a certain portion; that a portion of relief shall be given from the union, another from the electoral division, and another portion from the townland. And other people have advocated a pure townland rating; that the townland shall be the rateable area, and that a certain number shall be formed into electoral divisions for guardians. In many ways the adoption of the townland has come before us, but we have not thought it judicious to use it as a separate unit.

5276. Has the adoption of townlands as areas of taxation been considered by our Commission?—Yes.

5277. Have you come to any conclusion upon that subject?—Yes; townlands are so different in size and all other circumstances that there would seem to be no analogy between them; there is no system by which they could be made similar to each other as areas of rating; such was our conclusion.

5278. Can you state what are the extremes of variation in the size of townlands; what are the largest, and what are the smallest?—I should say that they vary from 5,000 acres to five or six acres.

5279. Are there many townlands which contain no habitation?—There may be some, but not many, that contain no habitation; but there are many that are very thinly peopled.

5280. Has your Commission come to the conclusion that it would not be expedient to adopt townlands as areas of taxation?—Yes, we so stated in our report.

5281. Is the correspondence that you have received from the different unions in a state in which it would be fit for presentation to Parliament?—Yes, so far as it has gone; it would merely require compilation.

5282. Chairman.] Is your correspondence completed?—No. It is very necessary that the divisions which we propose to adopt should be made known throughout the country. There are three ways in which that could be done. We could visit every union, and exhibit maps, and explain what we wish to do, and take the sense of general meetings and adjourned meetings, as I believe was done in the north of Ireland, where they have been exceedingly successful; but that would occupy time, which is, in fact, prohibitory. There are 180 unions, and, if that course were adopted, we could not count upon getting through a union under two or three days; so that it would take two or three years to hold those meetings, and those meetings could not be begun to be held till we had completed our arrangements, so that a still longer time must elapse before the whole would be completed. Another course would be, to send maps and lists to the poor-law inspectors and other officers in the country, and request them to hold the meetings; but the objection to that is, that we could not fully possess so many officers with our views, or the reasons which had led us to adopt the course we had adopted in each particular case. The third course, which seems practicable, is, to print the lists, giving the properties that we propose to include in each electoral division, and lodge in the union-house or some convenient place a map of the union; and then, by circulars and advertisements in the newspapers, request everybody interested to examine it, and make known their objections to us, then to take those objections into consideration, and adopt the divisions or alter them as may seem best. That course is not yet begun, and the amount of correspondence or delay that will occur, it is impossible to estimate; but my impression is, that this summer should complete it.

5283. Mr. P. Scrope.] You drew up these tables of agricultural produce?—Yes.

5284. The result appears to be, that out of 13,000,000 of acres of cultivated land, only about 5,000,000 were under crops of any kind, including meadow land, in 1847?—I do not remember the figures, but I have no doubt you quote them correctly.

5285. What was the condition of the remaining 8,000,000 of acres?—I am not prepared to say, without examining the tables.

5286. Was it all pasture land never ploughed up, or land that had been resting in fallow?—Of both descriptions, but a large quantity was left untilled.

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5287. Of the 8,000,000 of acres that were not under crops, a large proportion probably was in fallow?—Yes, and permanent pasture.

5288. Left out at rest?—Yes.

5289. Can you form any opinion what proportion there was of arable land that was left in fallow to recover itself?—No, we should have no means of knowing that.

5290. Is not that a most barbarous and wasteful system of cultivation?—No doubt it is; there ought to be a rotation of crops.

5291. If the land was cultivated in a more efficient manner, would there be double the production and double the number of persons employed?—It would enormously increase the production.

Veneris, 20^a die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord John Russell.
Sir William Somerville.
Sir James Graham.
Sir Denham Norreys.
Mr. Herbert.
Mr. Clements.
Mr. G. C. Lewis.
Mr. Seaford.
Mr. Monseil.
Mr. O'Flaherty.

Colonel Denno.
Mr. Shafto Adair.
Mr. Poulett Scrope.
Mr. Sharnan Crawford.
Sir Lucas O'Brien.
Major Blackall.
Mr. Bright.
Sir John Pakington.
Sir John Young.
Earl of Lincoln.

SIR JOHN YOUNG, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

John Vandeleur Stewart, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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5292. [Chairman.] YOU are a Resident Proprietor in the county of Donegal?—Yes, and also a proprietor in the union of Kilrush, in the county of Clare.

5293. Have you had much experience in the operation of the poor law in Ireland?—Yes, I have had peculiarly favourable opportunities of acquiring practical experience on its operation, and on the late relief systems, from being Chairman of the Letterkenny Board of Guardians, and from having been Chairman of the Finance Committee, and several relief committees in that union during the late famine, and from having anxiously devoted my attention, during the greater portion of the last three years, to a careful administration of the poor law.

5294. The Letterkenny Union is in the county of Donegal, one of the poorest counties?—Yes, I believe Donegal to be one of the poorest in Ireland with reference to population and value; but I am happy to say that seven out of eight of its unions are in a prosperous condition, and amongst these Letterkenny is one out of the only eight unions in Ireland which obtained no advances from the Relief Commissioners; and the Finance Committee at the close of its proceedings handed over to the Board of Guardians a balance of 1,606*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*

5295. Were you an advocate for a poor law for Ireland?—I was always anxious to see a poor law established in Ireland; I think the original poor law of Ireland was well suited to the peculiar circumstances of it, and well adapted to guard against those vices which the lower orders are peculiarly prone to; and I think that the guarded restrictions which Mr. Nicholls recommended in his three able reports were absolutely necessary to prevent the abuses of such a law in Ireland, and which have now come into such fearful operation by the withdrawal of those judicious restrictions, and which I fear must continue till those restrictions are restored.

5296. Do you consider that the original poor law was well suited to the condition of Ireland at the time it was introduced?—I am of opinion that much of our existing misery in Ireland has resulted from our having been too long without a poor law. In 1793 our population was half its present amount, and the table I

now

now hand in will show that this rapid increase in the last 50 years has had much to say to our existing poverty. Taking the decennial period from 1821 to 1831 (the period of its most rapid increase), it will be seen that it has been greatest in those counties in which the present pressure of pauperism is most severely felt, the increase being regulated by none of those prudential motives which usually restrict improvident marriages in more civilized states of society; and being generally in poorer districts, in the inverse ratio to the means of supporting it and the wants of the country.

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[The Witness delivered in the following Table:]

Counties.	Increase of Population.	Proportion of Population relieved in April 1848.
Mayo - - - - -	35 per cent. - -	29 per cent. - -
Clare - - - - -	34 " - -	24 " - -
Galway - - - - -	33 " - -	21 " - -
Kerry - - - - -	32 " - -	18 " - -
Contrasted with the following:—		
Down - - - - -	8 per cent. - -	2 per cent. - -
Wexford - - - - -	7 " - -	6 " - -
Louth - - - - -	5 " - -	6 " - -
Cutlow - - - - -	4 " - -	9 " - -

5297. What is your opinion as to the amended poor law?—My opinion is that the amended poor law is totally unsuited to the social state of Ireland; that it fosters those peculiar defects in the Irish character which are the obstacles to industry and prosperity, and that if a material change be not immediately made in its provisions, I think that it will involve all parts of Ireland in ruin.

5298. Do you consider that the population of Ireland is excessive as compared with its capital?—There can be no doubt that it is excessive as compared with the existing capital of the country. Population may be said to be the wealth of a country, but to be so it must be an industrial one, each one producing more than is necessary for his own support, and for the supply of his artificial wants, the surplus produce of his labour being that which adds to the individual and the national wealth, and therefore just in proportion as an unemployed population increases so must the wealth of a country diminish, as each unproductive member of the community, being only a consumer, must abstract from the general store that portion which is necessary for his support; and when this disproportion between the industrious and unemployed becomes excessive, as is now the case in Ireland, where one-tenth of the population are obtaining relief, so must capital diminish, employment cease, the labour market become glutted, wages depreciate, and the miseries of the poor increase; and these causes and effects acting and reacting on each other, must continue to multiply until the primary cause, the disproportion between capital and labour, is removed.

5299. Has the condition of the people been deteriorated by the rapid increase of population?—Yes. Ireland is almost exclusively an agricultural country, as it has had, comparatively speaking, no manufactures to which its surplus population could have recourse; the consequence has been that to the land alone all have been obliged to look for support, and this has naturally led to the minute subdivision of it, and which has been carried to such an extent as to merge the labouring and farming classes into each other, and utterly to annihilate in densely populated districts all improvement in agriculture, which is quite incompatible with such small patches of land, and which has necessarily led to the cultivation of little else than the potato in these subdivided districts, and hither to the growth of even an inferior but more prolific potato, to meet the wants of a reckless and improvident population, which has kept pace so nearly with the maximum potato productive power of the soil, that when the all-important potato harvest has proved at all defective, partial famines, accompanied by fever and pestilence, have usually followed. The accompanying comparison with England shows how dependent Ireland is on agricultural prosperity.

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PROPORTION OF POPULATION.

Great Britain, in 1841 - - - - -	22 agricultural.
	46 commercial.
	32 miscellaneous.
	100
Ireland, - in 1841 - - - - -	64 agricultural.
	10 commercial.
	15 miscellaneous.
	100

5300. Will you point out to the Committee the extent to which the subdivision of land has been carried?—The population of Ireland by the census of 1841 was 8,174,566, and the number of families 1,472,787; of this population about 5,489,480, or 974,188 families, were supported by or dependent on agriculture. The poor-law valuation is only 13,187,421 *l.* The gross number of tenements by agricultural returns in 1847 (subsequent to the year of famine) was 935,939; of those there were 135,341 under one acre, 50,355 of from one to two acres, 121,595 of from two to five acres, making an aggregate of 317,264 tenements not exceeding five acres. The number of tenements valued at not more than 4 *l.* was 553,939, and at from 4 *l.* to 5 *l.*, 76,027; making an aggregate of 629,966 tenements valued at and under 5 *l.* Thus nearly one-third of all the tenements in Ireland in 1847 were less than five acres, and more than two-thirds were valued at less than 5 *l.* In some districts this subdivision has been carried to such an extent as to render the holdings quite insufficient to feed the occupants even on a potato diet, and therefore during the summer months they have generally been obliged to close up their cabins, and to wander as vagrants, until the return of the potato harvest has given them food for the winter months and a portion of the following spring. These small holdings in a portion of Donegal are denominated a "Cow's Grass," and on further subdivision amongst the children and grandchildren a "Cow's Foot" and a "Cow's Toe," the latter being the one-eighth part of a portion of land capable of feeding a cow; and ultimately they have degenerated on a more minute subdivision into a "Sheep's Foot," being the one-sixteenth part of a "Cow's Grass." The application of out-door relief to such a state of society appears to be absolutely absurd.

5301. Do you think that the proprietors are generally responsible for these subdivisions?—These subdivisions are almost universally made without his permission; they are made as portions for children marrying at improvident ages. At the death of the father the proprietor finds perhaps four families on a farm barely adequate to support one; each son claims a tenant right, and the eviction of the supernumerary families leads to outrage and bloodshed, or to the ruin of the purchaser of the good-will, if the farm can be again consolidated.

5302. Was not the original poor law calculated to restrain this pernicious subdivision of land?—Yes; the minds of all classes were awakened, by the fear of rates, to the mischievous tendency of mendicancy (which was a necessary accompaniment of these small holdings), and to the evil of the minute subdivision of land, and the consolidation of farms was taking place in that gradual and judicious manner in which so serious a social change ought to take place. The admissions into the workhouses show a gradual increase up to 1845.

In 1840 - - - - -	10,802
1841 - - - - -	23,548
1842 - - - - -	54,107
1843 - - - - -	59,582
1844 - - - - -	66,708
1845 - - - - -	74,565

5303. You had a good deal of experience in the administration of the relief system during the famine under the Temporary Relief Acts; do you consider that that relief was judiciously administered?—Generally speaking, I should say that nothing could have been more injudicious or demoralizing; one-half the expenditure

expenditure judiciously managed would have afforded vastly greater relief, and would have prevented that demoralised destitution which has been trained up under that system (which combined everything that was vicious in the way of relief), and which has now been thrown upon the rates of impoverished Ireland, and which, with a staff of 15,549 officers, the Imperial Treasury was unable to cope with at a cost of near 7,000,000 £. If it is the wish of the Committee, I can state the means we took in the county of Donegal to control many of the abuses incidental to such a system, and which proved comparatively successful in parts of that county, and which were suggested to the Commissioners at the time for general adoption; and therefore I think that Government is responsible for many of the existing evils which have been produced by and grown up under this mismanagement.

5304. Do you consider that the consequences of the potato failure must be permanent?—Yes; the conacre, the cottier, and small-tenement systems were entirely based upon the cultivation of the potato, as it is quite impossible to feed and support a family on a cereal diet upon a farm of much less than eight arable acres; with the destruction, therefore, of the potato, the permanent annihilation of the system based upon it has followed as a necessary consequence. And the Return I now hand in of the Ballina Union shows that the decrease in tenements has been on those valued at less than 8 £, and therefore proves that smaller tenements than eight acres are only compatible with potato culture.

BALLINA UNION.

A RETURN showing the TENEMENTS at the under-mentioned Values in 1840 and 1849.

	1840.	1849.	DECREASE.	INCREASE.
Under 4 £. - - - - -	17,316	10,854	6,462	—
At and above 4 £, but under 5 £. - -	1,770	1,332	438	—
At and above 5 £, but under 6 £. - -	807	786	21	—
At and above 6 £, but under 7 £. - -	638	617	21	—
At and above 7 £, but under 8 £. - -	437	394	43	—
At and above 8 £. - - - - -	1,936	1,949	-	13
TOTAL - - - - -	22,095	15,465	6,530	13
DEDUCT INCREASE - - -			13	
TOTAL DECREASE - - -			6,543	

5305. Upon what classes of society has the potato failure principally operated, and what has been its practical results?—By the potato failure, all cottiers and conacre men were totally deprived of their usual sustenance, and the occupiers of tenements valued at not more than 5 £ deprived of their usual and principal support; and these two classes were thrown absolutely destitute on other resources for their food. The class above them, the occupiers of from 5 to 20 acres, amounting to 375,491, who were accustomed to feed their farm servants on potatoes, were almost universally compelled to discharge them, as it was hopeless in a period of scarcity to feed them on a cereal diet out of such tenements. The loss has been estimated at 14,000,000 £, equivalent to the whole rental of Ireland. Few proprietors obtained as much rent as was sufficient to pay the rates and charges incident to their properties; and the general result has been, in many localities, a total prostration of improvement and energy, and a fearful accumulation of destitution, from the absence of capital and the means of employment.

5306. Has not the potato failure permanently disconnected these small occupiers from the land?—Yes; these small occupiers must now be permanently disconnected from the land. Under the amended poor law, no occupier of more than one-fourth of an acre can obtain relief; and, therefore, those who have been

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relieved during 1847 and 1848 have now no land to fall back upon, even if the potato should return. They are therefore reduced to the class of labourers, or to paupers, when unemployed; and the Return I have just handed in, of the reduction in the number of small tenements in Ballina, proves how numerous this class must be throughout Ireland; and it therefore appears to be perfectly hopeless to expect that the return of the potato can extricate us out of our difficulties. It may prevent other classes, who are now struggling, from becoming paupers; but it could never restore the existing paupers to their former condition, nor would it be desirable that it should do so.

5307. Are those persons, thus thrown upon the labour market, likely to obtain employment?—No. The labour market, for years previous to the famine, has been glutted, as evidenced by the low and insufficient rate of wages, and by the numbers who migrated annually to England, in the hope of obtaining employment. The potato failure has necessarily diminished the demand for labour, while it has largely added to the numbers dependent upon it. The occupiers of tenements of from 5 to 15 acres, amounting to 269,534, can no longer afford to employ their usual labourers, who must now be fed on a cereal diet and obtain money wages; and they have therefore discharged their farm servants, and now till their farms by the labour of their own families. And the occupiers of farms of from 15 to 30 acres, amounting to 164,337, can afford to employ but few; and therefore this accumulating mass of unemployed labour can look to none but the occupiers of tenements of above 30 acres, a class amounting to only 157,697, very little more than one-sixth of the whole tenements of Ireland. And if to these considerations we add the small amount of agricultural capital, its deeply mortgaged condition, by the recent improvident expenditure (amounting in impoverished Clare alone to 268,171 £ 11s. 6d.), the annihilation of almost all manufactures, the number of absentees, and the accumulating rates and taxes, the former often doubly enforced against punctual payers, to meet the arrears of dishonest or ruined defaulters, and the serious depreciation in agricultural produce, which must necessarily force large mountain districts out of cultivation, it will be more easy to account for the present lamentable condition of the west and south of Ireland, and the want of employment, than to find a remedy for either.

5308. Is the amended poor law likely to obviate those evils?—Quite the contrary; no one can doubt that it is seriously aggravating them. The amended poor law is totally unsuited to the existing condition of Ireland. Such a law might have prevented the existing evils if it had been applied previous to their existence, but it can never cure them. Its tendency is rather to perpetuate them by providing for the support of a pauper population, and therefore (most properly) preventing that diminution in their number which death would otherwise produce. That it must operate in increasing pauperism, where one-eighth of the population of Ireland is fed at the cost of the remaining seven-eighths, no one can doubt; and that it must end in the total ruin of those districts where one-half are relieved at the cost of the other half, is equally clear.

5309. Do you think that the amended poor law was calculated to meet the complicated evils of a prolonged famine?—No country was ever in a position less suited to struggle against the complicated misfortunes consequent on the late famine than Ireland. With little capital, even in prosperous times; with a population almost entirely dependent upon the potato for sustenance, a population quite disproportioned to the demand for and means of supporting it; long estranged by political agitation from those to whom a community of feeling and identity of interest ought to have bound them; reckless and improvident in prosperity; dependent in poverty, and taught by selfish politicians to look to political measures for the cure of social evils—no poor law, under the most favourable circumstances, could meet so prolonged a famine as Ireland is now suffering from, and from the consequences of which she must long continue to suffer; and I feel confident that the attempt to meet it by the ordinary arrangements of out-door relief has given a permanence to our misfortune which will ultimately involve the country in universal ruin, unless other measures be adopted.

5310. What has been the consequence of forcing out-door relief as a cure for famine?—The attempt to force the poor law to meet that which no poor law could cope with has ended in its total break down, as evidenced by the dissolution of so many Boards of Guardians who were appointed to carry it out, and by the advance of 242,577 £. from the British Association and Exchequer in aid of rates, which in some instances, if they could have been collected, would have exceeded double

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double the annual value of the land. The consequence is a universal panic in pauperized districts, the land is left untilled, the small capitalists are rapidly leaving the country; all who remain are throwing themselves on the rates; ere long, few will be left but paupers as the sole occupants of uncultivated wastes. The effect of these ruinous rates in diminishing cultivation is clearly shown by the following comparison between Donegal relieving but 4.40 per cent. of its population and Clare relieving 33.73 per cent., as taken from the general Table I submit to the Committee, exhibiting the social condition of Ireland and its provinces, and in which the relative produce, resources, and destitution of different portions of it are severally contrasted with each other:—

Column 53.—In Clare, population relative to arable land, 1 to 1.555 acres.

In Donegal it is only - - - - 1 to 1.306 acres.

Column 55.—In Clare, population relative to Ordnance value, 1 to 1*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*

In Donegal it is only - - - - 1 to 1*s.* 2½*d.*

In Clare, average Ordnance value per acre, 7*s.* 7*d.*

In Donegal it is only - - - - 3*s.* 9*d.*

And yet we find—

Column 65.—In Clare, obtaining relief, 38.73 per cent., or 63,890 souls.

In Donegal, only - - - 4.40 per cent., or 12,409 souls.

And the consequent result of this ruinous relief is—

Column 59.—In Clare, arable land under cultivation, only 1 acre in 3½.

In Donegal it is more than - - - 1 acre in 2.

Column 30.—In Clare, crop produced, in value, only 1,185,557*l.*

In Donegal it is - - - - 1,500,391*l.*

Column 46.—In Clare, value of stock, only 850,390*l.*

In Donegal it is - - - 965,837*l.*

Column 60.—In Clare, population relative to value of crop, only 1 to 4*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*

In Donegal it is - - - - 1 to 5*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.*

Column 61.—In Clare, population relative to stock, only 1 to 2*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*

In Donegal it is - - - - 1 to 3*l.* 6*s.* 1½*d.*

Its consequences in diminishing production, amounting to absolute inability to support the existing population in it, are well exemplified in the case of Clilden:—

Its population, by the Census of 1841, is 23,465.

Its poor-law valuation is 21,436*l.*

Its paupers obtaining relief in June 1848, 17,213.

Its total produce, by agricultural returns, in 1847 is as follows:—

Grain - 2,917 tons; giving 195 lbs. to each person.

Potatoes - 31,520 tons; giving 728 lbs. to each person.

Green crops, 2,687 tons; giving 179 lbs. to each person.

If therefore the food produced within this union were divided equally amongst its inhabitants, it would give (omitting decimals) of grain, ½ lb. per diem to each; of potatoes, 2 lbs. per diem to each; of turnips, ½ lb. per diem to each; a quantity insufficient to support life, and less than that given to paupers, who get 3 lbs. of potatoes, 11 oz. of meal, and 1½ pint of milk. And this division does not admit of the allocation of a single pound for the winter food of cattle, pigs, or poultry. It is therefore difficult to see from whence the seed for future crops, where the rates, cess, rent, taxes, and the cost of producing the late crop, are to come; or the heavy instalments due for public works and past relief, amounting in this union to 21,443*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* In theory the husbandman may be permitted to appropriate the produce of his lands and the fruits of his labour to the wants of his family, but in practice it will throw 17,213 who have none on the rates. But, *de jure*, by the poor law, the support of these falls upon the producers, and therefore, *de facto*, a literal communism is enforced, as it must be quite immaterial to him whether he has to provide the ½ lb. of grain, 2 lbs. of potatoes, and ½ lb. of turnips, in money or in kind; and it therefore practically amounts to an enforced and equal division of the fruits of his toil with those who have done nothing to produce for themselves. This statement is much within the facts of the case. The agricultural returns estimate the potatoes as an average and successful crop, whereas they almost totally failed in Galway. I will hand in a Table, exhibiting the social condition of Ireland and its provinces, in which the relative produce, resources, and destitution of different portions of it are severally contrasted with each other.

[The Witness delivered in the same.]

Vide Appendix.

J. F. Stewart, Esq. 5311. Has it led to an increase of crime?—The increase of crime since the famine is very striking; the convictions have increased from 7,101 in 1845 to 15,233 in 1847, and the returns for 1848 will show a much greater increase. The gaols cannot now accommodate the prisoners, and many under sentence have been discharged without their periods of punishment being fulfilled, to make room for other criminals, and to save the lives of those crowded within the walls of the gaols; 112 were transported at the last Clare assizes, and sheep and cattle stealing has increased to a fearful extent, and all property has become insecure. The following extracts from the Table of criminal offenders for 1847 exhibit the fearful operation of destitution in adding to crime, and that for 1848 must exhibit more painful results.

		Convicted.
Offences against property without violence; viz., stealing, embezzlement, and other offences peculiarly indicative of destitution - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	3,126
	In 1846 - - -	3,732
	In 1847 - - -	13,190
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	6,376
Committed to gaols - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	16,806
	In 1846 - - -	18,692
	In 1847 - - -	21,939
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	14,503
Summary convictions at petty sessions - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	17,512
	In 1846 - - -	16,695
	In 1847 - - -	25,819
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	6,596
Transported - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	676
	In 1846 - - -	654
	In 1847 - - -	2,603
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	1,623
Imprisoned above one year - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	115
	In 1846 - - -	196
	In 1847 - - -	333
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	238
Total convictions at assizes and quarter sessions - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	7,101
	In 1846 - - -	8,030
	In 1847 - - -	15,233
	An Increase in 1847 of - - -	6,102
Drunkenness - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	22,076
	In 1846 - - -	22,382
	In 1847 - - -	15,406
	Showing greater poverty by the decrease of this crime in 1847 of - - -	6,580
Deaths in prison - - - - -	In 1845 - - -	81
	In 1846 - - -	181
	In 1847 - - -	1,350

While the commitments have increased therefore as 2 to 1, the deaths in gaols have increased in the ratio of 16 to 1.

5312. Contrasting the population and resources of Ireland with England, is it not manifest that the population is excessive in Ireland?—Yes; I estimate the annual value of real property in England and Wales in 1841 at 62,540,030 *l.*, and the population by census at 15,006,741, being one to 3 *l.* 18s. 7 *d.* In Ireland the poor-law valuation (the letting value) is 13,187,421 *l.*, and the population,

lation, by the same census, 8,175,124, being only one to 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* By the table I have handed in the produce of the stock and crop of Ireland in 1847 I estimate (at an outside value) at 45,264,880*l.*, which is a little more than 3½ times the rent of the land. Taking, therefore, the same scale to estimate the value of the stock and crop of England, it would give the produce at 208,466,776*l.*, or nearly 4½ times as great as that of Ireland; and if we consider the large capital and the superior science which is applied to agriculture in England, this calculation must be admitted to be much under the true facts of the case. In Ireland 64 per cent. of the population are employed in agriculture, and therefore are producing in value but 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* to each soul of the whole population, whilst in England there are but 22 per cent. employed in agriculture, so the production of 3*l.* 18*s.* 7½*d.* to each soul of the whole population. On the other hand, in Ireland the proportion employed in manufactures and trade is only 18 per cent., whilst in England it is 46 per cent.; and therefore, if we add to the agricultural resources of England its vastly greater manufacturing industry and capital, which rapidly absorbs its surplus agricultural population, the great surplus population of Ireland must be apparent:—

	Great Britain.	Ireland.
Agriculture - - - -	22 per cent.	64 per cent.
Commercial - - - -	46 —	18 —
Miscellaneous - - - -	32 —	18 —
	100	100

5313. The evils of Ireland in a great measure, therefore, result from a population wholly disproportioned to the capital of the country?—Yes; the evil we have to contend against is a population long disproportioned to the capital and wants of the country, supported upon a potato diet, universally dense in the inverse ratio to the means of supporting and employing it, suddenly and permanently thrown by the destruction of the potato upon a previously glutted labour market, with out-door relief as the only practical alternative.

5314. What then do you consider are the remedies applicable to over-populous districts?—The only remedy can be an increased demand for the surplus labour by a sudden addition to the capital of Ireland, or a diminished supply, by the withdrawal of the surplus population.

5315. Do you think that out-door relief is likely to promote an increased demand for labour, or to diminish its supply to the market?—Out-door relief must act in the contrary way; accumulating rates must diminish that capital upon which the employment of labour depends, and it is absurd to suppose that additional capital will flow into districts, relieving 50 and 60 per cent. of the population; and therefore until a due proportion between labour and capital is restored, by the withdrawal of that surplus population, which is now consuming the vitals of the country, it is vain to hope for improvement in Ireland.

5316. How then would you propose to deal with this surplus population?—The only practical remedies are death or emigration, the one having all our Christian feelings, our social duties, and the poor law actively opposed to it, whilst in its operation it would be too tedious to meet a temporary emergency, even if such a remedy could be tolerated in a Christian country; the other, philanthropic in its purpose, immediate in its effect, and certain in its results, and calculated, if conducted on judicious principles, to add to the wealth of our colonies, whilst it would relieve both Ireland and England from that incubus which, without its aid, must continue to depress the energies and prosperity of the country.

5317. Are there not many obstacles to carrying out a successful plan of emigration?—There are undoubtedly many difficulties, but I cannot believe that they could not all be overcome, and they certainly are not to be compared with a state of society in which 63 per cent. of the population are bound to the state by no other social tie than a pound of meal or a quart of porridge. Nothing can be more ruinous than the existing condition of Ireland, in which nearly 2,000,000*l.*, out of a rental which must now be reduced to less than 10,000,000*l.*, is expended on the support of a rapidly accumulating pauper population; and if it be admitted that these evils result from a fearful disproportion between labour and capital, and that emigration to a large extent must take place before their due balance can be

J. V. Stewart, Esq. restored and a healthy demand for labour created, I cannot think that Great Britain, the most successful colonist of the world, should be unable to meet and provide for those difficulties; and I am certain she will soon see that millions have been fruitlessly spent in a vain attempt to maintain them at home, which would have remedied the evil if applied to emigration.

5318. Is not the question of emigration one which equally involves the interests of England and Ireland?—I think that England is as deeply interested, both socially and pecuniarily, in this question as Ireland; viewing it socially, labour will naturally flow to where it will receive the highest wages, and it will therefore be impossible to prevent that continued influx of Irish labourers into England which is now operating so seriously in depreciating wages, and adding to the burden of poor rates in it, and which must ultimately drag down the well-fed labourer of England to the level of the potato-fed population of Ireland. And in a pecuniary point of view England is equally interested; whilst Ireland continues in her present state immense military and police establishments must be maintained there, her commerce must be seriously crippled, and the demand for her manufactures in Ireland vastly diminished; and to this may be added that most costly emigration which is now forced upon the State by accumulating convicts from those pauperised districts, which have increased from 576 in 1845 to 2,098 in 1847, and will be vastly more in the returns of 1848.

5319. You are aware of the misfortunes which attended the emigration of 1847; do you think that those misfortunes are an argument against emigration by the State?—The emigration of 1847 was an emigration of paupers flying from a country suffering under all the horrors of famine and pestilence, without Government control or assistance; numbers of the emigrants were absolutely labouring under fever at the moment of their embarkation, or with the seeds of disease in constitutions shattered from previous suffering. I do not mean to advocate such an emigration as the transport of the famishing, demoralized, and helpless crowds of Munster and Connaught to perish on the shores of America; such an emigration would be the mere transfer of misery from one side of the Atlantic to greater misery on the other; but I conceive that the experience of 1847 proves the necessity of Government control in this matter, and I feel convinced that if it had long since adopted the suggestions on the subject of emigration which have been made by so many Parliamentary Committees and statesmen, a vast amount of the suffering of 1847 would have been prevented, and that Ireland would now be in a more prosperous state; and I feel assured that every hour that this question is postponed the difficulty will be increased by fresh classes being reduced to destitution, and therefore a great increase in the numbers of those who must ultimately be removed.

5320. Is there no danger that Government aid to emigration might discourage that voluntary emigration which is now taking place to a considerable extent?—I think that without restriction it might have that effect; but I will point out in a subsequent answer how that might be avoided. The extent, however, of the voluntary emigration of poor persons from Ireland is very much over estimated; my experience leads me to believe that most of the paupers who leave Ireland migrate to England and Scotland, and that few of them go to America. Those who go to America are generally small capitalists and farmers, whom it would be desirable to retain at home; and I believe that our present voluntary emigration is adding to the disproportion between capital and labour, and operating injuriously. Without aid it is impossible that a pauper can emigrate. Large sums have been sent, it is true, from America to aid in the emigration of persons from Great Britain and Ireland; and I have known several cases of paupers having been thus removed; but generally speaking, those remittances are sent to those who are above the class of paupers. The emigrants who left Londonderry in 1848 are represented to have been generally persons in comfortable circumstances, and possessed of sums varying from 800*l.* to 900*l.*; and one vessel is stated to have carried out the sum of 10,000*l.* in that way.

5321. Can you quote any of the authorities you allude to as favourable to emigration?—Yes. Mr. Nicholls, in 1836, in his able reports on the poor laws, dwells most forcibly on the necessity of it; and says, "The Irish population seems to be excessive, as compared with the means of employment which the country affords. It is difficult, if not impossible, to effect any material improvement in a country so circumstanced; for as long as the labourers exceed the number required, so long will their competition for employment tend to depress their condition,"

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condition, and counteract any efforts that may be made to improve it. Emigration must be had recourse to, as a present means of relief, whenever population becomes excessive in any district, and no opening for emigration can be found. The actual excess of population will be indicated by the pressure of able-bodied labourers in the workhouse. If any considerable numbers of them enter the workhouse and remain there, subject to discipline, it may be taken as a proof of their actual inability to provide for themselves, and of the consequent excess of labourers beyond the means to employ. Under such circumstances, emigration must be looked to as the best, if not only, present remedy." I would now refer the Committee to other more important authorities. In 1831 Earl Grey, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated, in a speech in the House of Lords, "That, before any measure could be introduced for the permanent relief of the poor in Ireland, it would be absolutely necessary to relieve that country from its superabundant population. The transfer of our superabundant labourers to the colonies would be equally beneficial to all parties; to the labourers, by diminishing the overwhelming competition under which they now suffer; to the settler, by affording him the means of cultivating his land; and both to this country and to the colonies, by relieving much of the distress now existing in the former, and by adding to the productive industry of the latter." And subsequently, in 1845, his Lordship stated, "he thought it of the greatest importance that emigration should be encouraged to a much greater extent than at present; and he believed it was in the power of Her Majesty's Ministers to take measures that would give much greater extension to the system than it now possessed." Mr. Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislature of New South Wales, says, in a letter quoted by Lord Montagu, "We wish to receive emigrants; we are willing to pay for them. There are millions among you dying of hunger; let us have those starving crowds; here they will find a superabundance of the necessaries of life. Instead of importing Indian corn to starving peasants, export the peasant and his family to where the Indian corn grows. The mother country will thus be relieved of a load which is increasing annually, and pressing on her resources in the most fearful manner." I would also refer to the following extract from the Report of the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826: "The question of emigration from Ireland is decided by the population itself; and that which remains for the Legislature to decide is, whether it shall be turned to the improvement of the British North American Colonies, or whether it shall be suffered and encouraged to take that which is and will be its inevitable course, to deluge Great Britain with poverty and wretchedness, and gradually, but certainly, to equalise the state of the English and Irish peasantry. Two different rates of wages and two different conditions of the labouring classes cannot permanently co-exist. One of two results appears inevitable, the Irish population must be raised towards the standard of the English, or the English depressed towards that of the Irish. The question whether an extensive plan of emigration shall or shall not be adopted, appears to your Committee to resolve itself into the simple point, whether the well-fed population of Great Britain shall or shall not be supplanted by the potato-fed population of Ireland." Again, on the re-appointment of this Committee in 1827, it reports, "That whatever may be the immediate and urgent demands from other quarters, it is vain to hope for any permanent or extensive advantage from emigration, which does not primarily apply to Ireland, whose population, unless some other outlet be opened to them, must shortly fill up every vacuum created in England and Scotland, and reduce the labouring classes to one uniform state." In 1830, a Committee of your House reported, that "Emigration, as a remedial measure, is more applicable to Ireland than to any other part of the empire. The main cause which produces the influx of Irish labourers into Britain, is undoubtedly the higher rate of wages which prevails in one island than the other. Emigration from Great Britain, to be effectual as a remedy, must tend to raise the rate of wages in the latter country, and thus to increase the temptation to the immigration of the Irish labourer. Colonization, on the contrary, from Ireland, by raising the rate of wages in the latter country, diminishes this inducement, and lessens the number of Irish labourers in the British market." In 1836 a Commission, appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish poor, reported, that "While we feel that relief should be provided for the impotent, we consider it due to the whole community, and to the labouring class in particular, that such of the able-bodied as may still be unable to find free and profitable employment in Ireland should be secured support only through emigration,

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emigration, or as a preliminary to it. In saying this we mean, that those who desire to emigrate should be furnished with the means of doing so in safety, and with intermediate support, when they require it, at emigration depôts. It is thus, and thus only, that the market of labour can be relieved from the weight that is now upon it, or the labourer be raised from his present prostrate state." Again, the Landlord and Tenant Commission report that, "We desire to express our own conviction, that a well-organised system of emigration may be of very great service as one among the measures which the situation of the occupiers of the land in Ireland at present calls for." And a Select Committee of the House of Lords, in 1846, recommends, "That increased facilities for the emigration of poor persons should be afforded with the co-operation of Government."

5322. You have stated that England and Ireland are equally interested in the question of emigration; upon whom would you throw the burden of providing the necessary funds?—I conceive that all parties are equally interested in this question, and that all are equally responsible for the state of society which renders emigration necessary; and therefore I think the burden of providing the necessary funds, in the first instance, ought to be shared by all. I would therefore divide the charge between the Government, the proprietor, and the rate-payer, and by doing so I think the system would be effectually protected from abuse. To provide the necessary funds where proprietors were unable to meet their proportion of the charge, loans might be advanced similar to those under the Land Improvement Act; and beneficial as loans may be to drain off the surplus water from the land, I am confident that similar loans to draw off a surplus population, which is rapidly consuming the capital of the country, would confer greater benefits, and would ultimately lead to that improvement in agriculture which can never take place without the expenditure of capital; and it is vain to hope that capital will flow into districts relieving 50 per cent. of the population, or that persons will incur the responsibilities of borrowed capital, while this incubus continues to press upon the land. Indeed borrowed capital would be only calculated to meet a temporary emergency, as it necessarily trenches on the funds for the future employment of labour, and it is therefore only suited to meet a temporary emergency, which this great social change certainly is not.

5323. How then would you propose to carry out a system of emigration under the control of the State?—I think that the colonies are equally interested in this question, if emigration and colonisation were put upon a proper footing, as it would supply that labour which is now so greatly deficient, and, by lowering its rate, would encourage the investment of capital, which would develop their resources, and add to their prosperity and wealth; and therefore the colony ought to take charge of the emigrant on his landing, and place him in a position to obtain employment or a settlement. This might, I think, be accomplished without loss to the colonies, and the necessary funds for this purpose might be advanced as loans to the emigrant, and become a lien upon his labour, to be repaid on certain conditions, by instalments, out of his future earnings; and it might be made a debt attachable against his person and future property until fully discharged. And by combining this system with public works, railways, and grants of land, I think an increased demand for emigrant labour would soon be secured. The incredibly short period within which poor emigrants have been able to remit sums of money out of their earnings to their relations in Ireland, infinitely above the cost of their original emigration, makes me feel confident that such a system might be carried out on a large and beneficial scale by the mutual co-operation of the colony and mother country. Such a system would appear to accord with the proud destiny of Great Britain, which has already peopled so large a portion of the globe with her children; and I cannot believe that it is consistent with the purposes of Providence that the efforts of the greatest naval and colonial power in the world should be limited to restricting our population within the walls of a workhouse in idleness, which might, under a different system, replenish the earth and add to the happiness of mankind. At present Boards of Guardians cannot aid in the emigration of paupers to the United States, that aid being strictly limited by the poor law to the British colonies, and therefore this restriction clearly proves that that emigration was considered by the Legislature to be beneficial to the colonies and mother country; and it therefore appears to furnish a strong argument for the extension of the system, or for the removal of the restriction if emigration be not beneficial, as emigration to the United States is less expensive than to Canada.

5324. You

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5324. You say that you have known cases in which loans have been applied in aid of emigration; can you point out particular cases in which these repayments have been made?—Yes, I will give some successful cases of emigration by loans in my own neighbourhood. 1st. The Rev. Mr. Kingsmill sent from the Letterkenny Union in 1846 a young woman on a loan of 6*l.* 6*s.*, which covered all expenses; in 1847 she sent from America 10*l.*, and took out her sister, and in 1849 the two sisters have sent over between them 10*l.* to take out two more, who are now going; the original loan was repaid out of the first remittance. 2d. Mr. Kingsmill again in 1847 sent out another young woman, and paid her passage, which cost 4*l.* 10*s.*; this she repaid within the same year; in 1848 she sent over 10*l.* to pay the passage of her brother and sister, and in the end of 1848 the three sent back 4*l.* to their old father at home, who was too old to go out. 3d. Mr. Kingsmill again sent out in 1848 another young woman on a loan of 4*l.*; before the end of that year she repaid it, and in 1849 has sent 4*l.* to her family, and is to send in spring the passage-money of several members of it. 4th. A pauper widow with six helpless children, had one son sent out to America by his uncle, who raised money to pay his passage in 1845; he sent home in the beginning of 1846 enough to keep the family during the famine years of 1846 and 1847, and in 1848 he sent home 24*l.*, which, with 2*l.* 10*s.* (contributed at home) took out the remaining five members of the family. 5th. The eldest son of a mendicant family of eight, who were supported on charity, got enough to carry him to America; in two years he sent back 8*l.* for the support of the family, some of them being in the workhouse at the time; in 1845, he sent over 4*l.* to assist the outfit, and tickets for the passage, of the surviving five, the father and one son having died of fever at home. 6th. A pauper family raised enough to send one son to America; he sent the passage-money for another member of the family; bearing of the famine, they sent over tickets for them all (seven in number); when the tickets came over, several of them were in the Fever Hospital, and none of them could go; a cousin went out on one of the tickets, and repaid it in a short time in America, and the whole family ultimately went out on the remaining tickets when they all recovered.

5325. Can you point out any colonial works which might be rendered available in this way, as an aid to emigration, with mutual advantage to the colony and mother country?—The proposed railway from Quebec to Halifax appears to offer a most favourable opportunity to attempt to carry out the system of emigration I have suggested in my previous answers. There can be no doubt that the construction of this railway is both of local importance to the colony, and of national interest to England. The proposed railway would be about 600 miles; and Major Robinson, in his report on it, says, "The proposed railway would be such a work as would engage thousands on its immediate construction; while the new spirit and stimulus it would infuse into the whole community, now cribbed and confined as it were to their own locations, would give rise to branches and other works, which would employ additional thousands. It would pass through a country in which there are millions of acres of good productive land, only waiting for the hands necessary to cultivate them; there are 14,000,000 of acres yet ungranted, and therefore at the immediate disposal of the Government. That the enterprise is of general interest; it concerns the prosperity and welfare of each of the three provinces; and the honour as well as the interests of the whole British empire may be affected by it. It is the one great measure by which alone the power of the mother country can be brought to bear on this (the American) side of the Atlantic, and restore the balance of power, now fast turning to the side of the United States." And contrasting the operations of the States Government with those of the British Provinces, he says, "On the one side the States Government become shareholders to a large amount in great public works, lead the way, and do not hesitate to incur debt for making what has been termed 'war upon the wilderness;' employment is given; and by the time the improvement is completed, property has been created, and the employed become proprietors;" and he adds, "Until the British Provinces imitate the policy of the States in this regard, and make 'war upon their wilderness,' the progress will continue to present the same unfavourable contrast. In New Brunswick alone there are 16,400,000 uncultivated arable acres, of which 11,000,000 are public property; in Ireland there is only 4,000,000. In New Brunswick the population is only 208,000; in Ireland it is 8,175,124. For any plan of emigration or colonisation, there is not another British colony which presents such a favourable

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able field for a trial as New Brunswick. New Brunswick pays annually to the United States 200,000*l.* for provisions and other articles she can raise on her own soil. The labourers employed on the railway, during the winter might engage in lumbering; but with the wages earned in the summer, they should be invited to purchase small lots of ground of 50 acres each. The labour of the season suspended on the railways, they could most advantageously employ themselves in clearing, logging, and improving their own lots." And Major Robinson points out the means by which the funds could be supplied "For the construction of the Great St. Lawrence Canal, by which Canada has now the prospect of reaping such immense advantages from the trade of the western country. The Imperial Government guaranteed the interest on a loan of 2,000,000*l.*; at 4 per cent. this loan was easily raised, and a large premium per cent. received in addition for it. There can be little doubt that another loan of 3,000,000*l.*; at the same rate of interest, could be raised upon the credit of the provincial resources, if guaranteed by the mother country. With this amount of capital, and 2,000,000 of acres to be reserved and sold from time to time, it is conceived the railway could be made." And the report proceeds to detail, in many interesting points, how by these measures most of the misfortunes which attend our present emigration could be effectually avoided. The late Lord Durham, in concluding a report as Governor-general of British North America, in 1839, after describing in glowing colours the riches and resources of these colonies, says, "No portion of the American continent possesses greater natural resources for the maintenance of large and flourishing communities; unbounded materials for agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry are there: it depends upon the present decision of the Imperial Legislature to determine for whose benefit they are to be rendered available. The country who has founded and maintained the colonies at a vast expense of blood and treasure may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population; they are the rightful patrimony of the English people, the ample appanage which God and nature have set aside in the new world for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions of the old." And Lord Elgin, in his despatch to Earl Grey, dated 10th January 1849, alludes to this railway as a means of promoting an extensive scheme of settlement in connexion with the work, and as virtually bearing on the interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and as the certain means of removing those obstacles at present existing to rapid and successful colonization of British North America.

5326. Do you believe that the extended system of emigration, rendered necessary, as you conceive, by the existing condition of Ireland, would be likely, by removing the pressure of population, to lead to its future increase?—Emigration by the State should only be adopted to provide for an exceptional state of society; and I would view it, therefore, in the light of a remedy for a formidable disease which is wasting the constitution, and which it would have been better to have prevented than to be forced to eradicate by those extreme measures which that neglect has now rendered necessary. There would be little risk of its recurrence, as the poor law must act as a powerful check to those improvident habits under which it has been generated; and I therefore feel certain that emigration would not only relieve the present pressure of population, but prevent its future recurrence, which will be inevitable if the social degradation of Ireland be permitted to continue.

5327. Would emigration be likely to prove a permanent remedy for the social evils of Ireland?—I have no doubt that it would. A poor law both in principle and practice perpetuates pauperism by supporting it; it may prevent, but never can cure it; the paupers always remain; the annual dole for their support is ever the same, and acts as a continued drain on the resources of the country, and peculiarly so in Ireland, where the capital is so small; and by diminishing the labour fund adds to the poor rates, and consequently the number to be supported out of them; but emigration accompanied by restraints on the improvident increase of the population, would radically cure the evil.

5328. Would not the cost be a serious obstacle?—The cost of this emigration would be but trifling as compared with the benefits it would confer. The average cost of the workhouse paupers of Ireland for the year ending 29 September 1849, for provisions, necessaries, and clothing alone, was 6*l.* 1*s.* per head. The annual passage to America I calculate at the average of 4*l.* 10*s.* (it is sometimes, and was this year, as low as 2*l.* 10*s.*), and 3*l.* would be ample

as an outfit, and therefore a pauper family might be placed in a position in the colonies in which he might earn an independent livelihood, at a cost which would little exceed his maintenance in the workhouse.

5329. Do you believe that over population depreciates the condition of the lower classes so as to render it difficult even to make the work-house a test for destitution?—The excess of the population in pauperised districts is such as to render the poor law little else than an engine of fraud and demoralization; all the tests of destitution are practically inoperative, as it is quite impossible to make the condition of the recipient of relief less comfortable than that of the small farmer.

5330. And therefore without emigration it will be almost impossible to make the workhouse an effective test in overpopulous districts?—I have no doubt of it.

5331. The Committee has been struck with the difference in the comparative destitution of the counties of Clare and Donegal, the former relieving 33 per cent. of the population, while the latter was only relieving 4 per cent. of its population. Will you give them a contrasted statement of the social condition of both counties?—The table I now lay before the Committee I framed with the express object of satisfying my own mind on that subject; and I will now point out the features in which those two counties are presented by it, with a view of contrasting their social condition. Previous to doing so, I would, however, allude to the superior natural circumstances of Clare. Its more southern latitude secures it a better climate, and therefore an earlier, more certain, and productive harvest. Its superior quality of soil, evidenced by the geological formation of the two counties and by its Ordnance valuation at 7 s. per acre, whilst Donegal is valued at only 3 s. 7 d. per acre. Its surface is generally less elevated, Clare having 791 square miles, at an elevation of 250 feet, whilst Donegal has but 616 square miles, at as low an elevation. I will now point out the social circumstances of the two counties:

In house accommodation, 1st class (the gentlemen residences) - - Both counties are equal.
 Ditto - - - 2d class (the good farmhouses) - - { Donegal has slightly the
 Ditto - - - 3d class (inferior farmhouses) - - { advantage.
 Ditto - - - 4th class (mud cabin) - - - { Donegal has the advantage.
 Ditto - - - { Donegal has also the advantage.

	CLARE.	DONEGAL.	
In small tenements, not rated above 1 l. - - -	3,845	6,404	Clare has the advantage by 2,559 less.
Number of occupiers rated - - -	22,933	18,061	Ditto - - - by 4,872 "
Number of hereditaments under 4 l., rated as immediate lessors	11,928	32,724	Ditto - - - by 20,796 "

And, taking the relative proportion of these two classes of tenements, we find that those rated on the immediate lessors are in Clare only as 1 to 2, while in Donegal they are as 1½ to 1, the average of 90 unions being as 1 to 1½. Again—

	CLARE.	DONEGAL.	
Total tenements not above 5 l. - - -	14,553	94,954	Clare has the advantage by 10,511 less.
Arable land (county) - - -	465,099	223,151	Ditto - - - by 61,818 more.
Ordnance value (county) - - -	282,513 l.	189,510 l.	Ditto - - - by 102,501 l. "
Population (unions) - - -	203,091	299,390	Ditto - - - by 16,609 less.
Population to arable area (county) - - -	1 to 1½	1 to 1½	Ditto.
Population to Ordnance value - - -	1 to 1 l. 1 s. 5 d.	1 to 12 s. 10½ d.	Ditto - - - by 8 s. 4½ d.

In every point of view, therefore, the Clare unions and county have the most decided advantage, except with reference to house accommodation; and this difference is not material, as mud walls often result from scarcity of stones, which is often the case in Clare; but in Donegal, its primitive geological formation gives them

J. V. Stewart, Esq. them in too great abundance. Taking the Poor-law Commissioners' Report of 1st May 1848, the relief is—
 so April 1849.

	Clare Unions.	Donegal Unions.
In workhouse - - - - -	5,055	3,415
On out-door relief - - - - -	65,290	5,994
Total relieved - - - - -	69,345	12,409
Proportion of population relieved - - - - -	33.73 per cent.	4.40 per cent.
Estimated cost of relief for 12 months - - - - -	159,148 £	65,912 £
Average rate per pound to meet it - - - - -	8s. 3½d.	2s. 10d.
Rate collected in 12 months - - - - -	74,358 £	26,826 £
Expenditure in 12 months - - - - -	166,221 £	59,720 £

5332. Is it not the fact that the greater destitution in Clare has led to diminished cultivation in that county as contrasted with Donegal?—Yes.

	Clare.	Donegal.
Proportion of sabbie land under crop (county) only - -	1 A. in 3½ A.	1 A. in 1½ A.
Value of crop (unions) - - - - -	1,019,960 £	1,184,202 £
Valuing stock (ditto) - - - - -	775,772 £	964,703 £
Population relative to value of crop (unions) - -	1 to 31. 16s. 9½d.	1 to 41. 0s. 11½d.
Population relative to value of stock (ditto) - -	1 to 21. 18s. 11½d.	1 to 34. 4s. 4d.

5333. Will you explain then to the Committee how you account for the relief of 68,945, or 33.73 per cent. of the population in Clare, the richer county, whilst only 12,409, or 4.40 per cent. of the population of Donegal, the poorer county, are relieved?—From what I have stated, it appears to be evident that this can only be accounted for by a decided difference in the character of the people, and in the administration of the poor law in the two counties; Ireland is not more dissimilar from England than the south of it is from the north. At its introduction the poor law found in Ulster a more industrious, self-relying, and self-judging population than in the south, guided by reason and not by the dictation of agitators and parish committees; a population conservative of property, and competent to discharge the duties which the law placed upon them; it found Ulster in a state in which the natural relation of the different classes of society was healthy and sound, in which the landlord and tenant were not estranged from, but confiding in, and assisting each other. The natural result, therefore, was that all classes generally combined in carrying out efficiently a law, on the well-working of which they knew their prosperity mainly depended; and the proprietors were able to exercise their due influence in securing the election of guardians in whose business-like habits they could confide, and whose personal interests were involved in the consequences of their acts. On the other hand, in the south and west, the law was introduced into localities long torn and disturbed by agitation, where all the ties binding society in its mutual relations were disordered, and amongst a population organized into combinations, and taught to believe that the interests of proprietors and rate-payers were antagonistic to each other; and thus under a system of almost universal suffrage, guardians were elected unqualified for the discharge of their duties, with feelings but little enlisted in the preservation of property, and the law became an engine of fraud and demoralization, the guardians often participating in the spoils.

5334. Why did the law then operate comparatively well in those districts in the beginning and not do so now?—At first, there was little disposition to enter the workhouse; all were anxious to cling to their land, and the Roman-catholic clergy generally encouraged those feelings, and therefore the dispositions I have described

described produced no greater evils than interference with valuations, and contests in the elections of guardians and appointment of officers. But now the matter is changed by out-door relief, and all those dispositions and motives are called into active operation. It is by the active vigilance of the administrative body alone that this fearful agent of demoralization and ruin can be controlled; and therefore, when guardians are not only incapable of performing their duties, but also encourage evasions of the law, it is not surprising that such districts should present a lamentable contrast to those unions in which those duties are faithfully discharged.

5335. Will you contrast the social condition of the Union of Kiltrush, in Clare, with the Union of Letterkenny, in Donegal?—The social circumstances of Kiltrush and Letterkenny are—

	Kiltrush.	Letterkenny.	
In small tenements not rated above 1 <i>l</i> . - - -	819	1,024	Kiltrush has the advantage by - 403.
Number of occupiers rated	6,109	2,942	- 2560 - - ditto - - 3,627.
Number of hereditaments under 4 <i>l</i> ., rated on immediate lessor - -	2,837	2,420	Letterkenny has the advantage by 417.

And if we take the relative proportion of these two classes of tenements, we find that those rated on the immediate lessors in Kiltrush are only as 1 to 2, while in Letterkenny they are as 1 to 1. Again—

	Kiltrush.	Letterkenny.	
Total tenements rated, not above 4 <i>l</i> . - - -	4,551	3,028	Letterkenny has the advantage by 1,523.
Ordinance valuation - -	66,179 <i>l</i> .	23,534 <i>l</i> .	Kiltrush has the advantage by 42,645 <i>l</i> .
Population - - -	82,333	25,821	Letterkenny has the advantage by 56,512.
Population relative to Ordinance valuation - -	1 to 14 <i>s</i> . - $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	1 to 19 <i>s</i> . 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	- ditto - - ditto - - 3 <i>s</i> . 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The relief is—

	Kiltrush.	Letterkenny.
In workhouse - - - - -	1,553	403
On out-door relief - - - - -	13,523	—
Total Relieved - - -	14,576	403
Proportion of population relieved - - - - -	17.94 per cent.	1.55 per cent.
Estimated cost of relief for 12 months - - - -	24,180 <i>l</i> .	2,520 <i>l</i> .
Average rate per pound to meet it - - - - -	8 <i>s</i> . 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	1 <i>s</i> . 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Actual expenditure in 12 months - - - - -	21,862 <i>l</i> .	2,138 <i>l</i> .

Their produce is—

	Kiltrush.	Letterkenny.
Value of crop - - - - -	264,285 <i>l</i> .	161,985
Value of stock - - - - -	203,185 <i>l</i> .	81,216 <i>l</i> .
Population relative to value of crop - - - - -	1 to 4 <i>l</i> . 1 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> .	1 to 6 <i>l</i> . 4 <i>s</i> . 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Population relative to value of stock - - - - -	1 to 2 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> . 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	1 to 2 <i>l</i> . 2 <i>s</i> . 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

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5336. Will you now contrast the condition of two unions in the same county, namely Glenties and Dunfanaghy?—The social circumstances of Glenties and Dunfanaghy, are—

	Glenties.	Dunfanaghy.	
In small tenements, not rated above 1 <i>l.</i> - -	2,503	769	Dunfanaghy has the advantage by 2,561.
In small tenements, number of occupiers rated - -	711	691	- ditto - - ditto - - 20.
Number of breadstamps under 4 <i>l.</i> , rated on immediate leases - -	4,114	2,081	- ditto - - ditto - - 4,093.

And taking the relative proportion of these two classes of tenements, we find that those rated on the immediate leases in Glenties are as 8½ to 1, while in Dunfanaghy they are as 2½ to 1. Again—

	Glenties.	Dunfanaghy.	
Ordinance valuation - -	14,137 <i>l.</i>	7,829 <i>l.</i>	Glenties has the advantage by 6,808 <i>l.</i>
Population - -	43,571	18,571	Dunfanaghy - - ditto - 25,000.
Population relative to Ordinance value - -	1 to 6 <i>l.</i> 3½ <i>d.</i>	1 to 7 <i>l.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i>	- ditto - - ditto - 1 <i>l.</i> 6½ <i>d.</i>

In this comparison, Dunfanaghy has many advantages, but not altogether sufficient to account for the extra relief, which is—

	Glenties.	Dunfanaghy.
In workhouse - - - - -	404	288
On out-door relief - - - - -	4,609	—
Total Relieved - - - - -	4,035	948
Proportion of population relieved - - - - -	10·40 per cent.	1·44 per cent.
Estimated cost of relief for 12 months - - - - -	7,338 <i>l.</i>	9,393 <i>l.</i>
Average rate per pound to meet it - - - - -	6 <i>l.</i> 11½ <i>d.</i>	4 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Race collected in 12 months - - - - -	3,360 <i>l.</i>	1,603 <i>l.</i>
Actual expenditure in 12 months - - - - -	8,072 <i>l.</i>	1,501 <i>l.</i>

Their produce is—

	Glenties.	Dunfanaghy.
Value of crop - - - - -	137,743 <i>l.</i>	127,730 <i>l.</i>
Value of stock - - - - -	74,036 <i>l.</i>	50,116 <i>l.</i>
Population relative to value of crop - - - - -	1 to 34 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>	1 to 44 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Population relative to value of stock - - - - -	1 to 6 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>l.</i> 0½ <i>d.</i>	1 to 6 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>l.</i> 7½ <i>d.</i>

5337. Here you have two unions in the same county formed by the same Poor-law Commissioners. How do you explain it, that Glenties should have been relieving 4,535 of its population and Dunfanaghy only 268?—In Dunfanaghy the poor law has been administered by a Board of Guardians carefully selected with a 10*l.* qualification, representing the property of the union, which has long been remarkable for its orderly and industrious habits, and the mutual relation between landlord and tenant is in that healthy state which is certain to secure their mutual co-operation for the welfare of the union, whilst a sound tone has been given to character and public opinion by resident proprietors. Glenties, on the other hand, without resident proprietors, elected a Board of Guardians with a 5*l.* qualification, almost exclusively selected from that class who are but little identified with property. The chairman was one of that class, and therefore disqualified to give a tone to the feelings or conduct of the Board. The present

inspector

inspector of the union informs me, that this chairman, when landholders applied for relief, used to say, "Give up your land; we do not care who you give it to, provided you give it, and then we will put you on out-door relief;" and the inspector informs me that the "consequence was that the most open and barefaced fraud was practised; the father gave his land to his son, and the mother to the daughter; so that all the family were fed, except the one who held the land."

The inspector says also, that this chairman used to boast that he "would leave the Marquis of Conyngham's property worth not five pence." He also says, "Very few contracts were entered into, and the clerk supplied nearly everything." To remedy this the qualification of the Guardians was raised to 10*l*.; and a comparison of the relief and expenditure under the two Boards will exhibit the abuse under the former one, and the necessity of the change. The new Board was elected the end of March 1848.

[The Witness delivered in the following Table:]

	Numbers receiving Out-door Relief	Out-door Relief Expenditure.	Numbers in Workhouse.	Workhouse Expenditure.
		£. s. d.		£. s. d.
In the 15 weeks immediately preceding its retirement, from the 2d of December 1847 to 10th March 1848	22,569	1,150 - -	697	41 9 6½
In the corresponding 15 weeks in 1848, under the management of 10 <i>l</i> . qualified Guardians	10,070	256 - -	661	42 - -
Difference in 15 weeks	22,499 less.	893 less.	336 more.	9 9 6½ only in excess.

5338. Do you conceive that the difference between Kilrush and Letterkenny arises very much from similar causes?—I do; precisely the same causes which operated in Glenties were operating in Kilrush.

5339. The Kilrush Board of Guardians was dissolved; and if the mismanagement resulted from the defective constitution of the Board, why has not the appointment of vice guardians been calculated to obviate these defects?—Because it was only taking the control from a body of guardians who were mismanaging the affairs of the union, and placing them in the hands of vice guardians, who from want of local knowledge and personal interest were still more incompetent to manage them; and the amount of injury which such a lax and imperfect system must produce will be apparent from the results of a revision of the relief lists on my property in the Kilrush Union. Each of the following cases, including several members of a family, averaging three to each.

	Cases.	Individuals.
Original cases obtaining out-door relief	216	646
Struck off previous to my revision	70	219
On relief at period of my revision	146	438
	Cases.	
Ordered off on my revision	18	
Ordered to be tested by workhouse, of whom but four subsequently applied	30	
Not known in the district, of whom but three had been discovered at the end of three weeks by relieving officer	14	
Receiving double relief by fraud	1	
Not then resident on the estate, though charged to it	15	
Double entry	2	
Gone away	1	
Vagrants and not resident	2	
	83	249
The number left at close of my revision	63	189

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5340. Are there no other causes which might contribute to add to the greater destitution of Clare?—I have no doubt that the demoralization of the relief system during 1846 and 1847, has also materially contributed to add to the lists of destitution. I believe there was no county in which that system was more abused than in Clare, and I know great abuses were practised in the Union of Glenties. Although I have shown that Clare is richer than Donegal and less populous, the expenditure for relief works in Clare was 458,450*l.*, while in Donegal it was only 82,022*l.*, making the excess in Clare 376,438*l.* To the Kilrush Union the relief advances and grants in aid of rates by the Relief Commission was 23,197*l.*; to Letterkenny Union it was nothing. In the Kilrush Union the highest number supplied with food in one day was 51,309, but in the Letterkenny Union it was only 3,314, the excess in Kilrush being 47,995. To Glenties Union the grants and advances in aid of rates by the Relief Commission was 3,792*l.*, to Duffinagh, only 127*l.* In Glenties the highest number supplied with food in one day was 15,516, in Duffinagh only 860, the excess in Glenties being 14,656. These abuses in Glenties took place with the perfect cognisance of the inspecting officer, who was transferred from it to my union after repeated complaints, but too late to prevent that demoralization which is still, I fear, operating to the prejudice of the union.

5341. Is the conacre system prevalent in Donegal?—The conacre system is very little practised in Donegal, except in the immediate neighbourhood of towns: in the west and south of Ireland it has formed a material part of the social system, and in many cases farmers who saw the evil of it, and tried to give it up, were prevented from doing so by outrages on their property.

5342. May not this have added to the difficulty in Clare?—I have little doubt that it contributed to add to their difficulty.

5343. Has the system of ransale been prevalent in Donegal?—The system of ransale was once very prevalent in Donegal, and is still in existence in some of the poorer portions of it; but it is rapidly giving place to a better system.

5344. Do you believe that property is generally more judiciously managed in the north of Ireland?—Yes, I think that, generally speaking, property has been better managed in Donegal than in Clare, and that latterly more attention has been paid to the evils of subdivision in the former county. In the Table I now hand in, I have made a comparison between a return of the number and size of tenements in each union in those counties, as presented to the House of Lords in 1845, and the agricultural returns for 1847; which show a reduction in Donegal of 1,947 tenements under one acre, and of 327 of from one to five acres; while in Clare it shows an increase of 158 tenements under one acre, and of 10 from one to five acres.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:]

A COMPARISON between the Small Tenements of Clare and Donegal, showing the Decrease and Increase of Tenements under One Acre and Tenements not above Five Acres, as exhibited by the Returns presented to The House of Lords from the Poor-law Commissioners, 1845, and the Agricultural Returns presented to Parliament for 1847.

UNIONS.	Under One Acre.	One Acre and not more than Two.	Two Acres and not more than Three.	Three Acres and not more than Four.	Four Acres and not more than Five.	Total under One and not above Five Acres.	Decrease in One-acre Holdings.	Increase in One-acre Holdings.	Decrease in Five-acre Tenements.	Increase in Five-acre Tenements.	Balance of One-acre Holdings.	Balance of Five-acre Tenements.
CLARE.												
Towns	622	281	134	171	270	678	—	781	—	213	—	—
Rural	134	323	146	394	382	739	—	58	—	41	—	—
Kilrush	269	413	378	285	375	1,310	—	401	—	186	—	—
Letterkenny	1,015	615	351	369	306	1,457	967	—	615	—	—	—
Total	2,701	1,443	722	969	1,271	4,182	967	1,345	615	440	219 +	29 +
DONEGAL.												
Letterkenny	472	277	394	350	362	1,315	255	—	696	—	—	—
Donegal	390	140	120	225	400	595	—	—	57	—	—	—
Duffinagh	57	143	140	287	131	617	154	—	—	—	—	—
Glenties	266	141	189	109	170	675	—	—	31	—	—	—
Inchmonee	262	294	345	305	407	1,013	—	66	850	—	—	—
Letterkenny	713	84	14	90	59	860	616	—	371	—	—	—
Loughinny	1,126	191	50	60	85	1,412	315	—	—	179	—	—
Malinbeg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	50	—	—	—
Total	3,002	1,399	1,144	1,021	1,406	5,916	2,807	78	1,841	231	1,947 —	1,629 —

5345. The

5345. The unions and electoral divisions in the west and south are generally much larger than in the north and east of Ireland; may not that have contributed also to increase the difficulties in Munster and Connaught?—Yes. I know that the poor-law arrangements in Clare have had a most material effect, not only in leading to the abuse of the poor-law system itself, but also in producing a much greater amount of destitution. Electoral divisions, formed without any reference to the boundaries of properties, have quite annihilated the motives and stimulus to employ, and the poor law has therefore failed there in individualizing responsibility, identifying interests, or securing mutual co-operation; and the universal feeling has been the hopelessness of any efforts to prevent destitution by affording employment, as such employment while it burdened the proprietor would have utterly failed in protecting him from being swamped by the destitution of adjoining estates. That such arrangements should have been allowed to continue appears to be unaccountable, as the Commissioners were fully aware of the evils they were producing, were often appealed to to alter them, and now admit they require no change in the law to enable them to do so.

5346. Can the greater extent of sea coast in Donegal, as compared with Clare, account for the less destitution in Donegal?—I am disposed to think that the greater extent of sea coast in Donegal would have operated in producing greater destitution there than in Clare where the extent is less, that destitution being caused by the loss of the potato; the population being always most dense on the sea coast (as is the fact in Donegal), from the facility of procuring sea-weed as a manure with which to grow the potato. Large numbers on the coast of Donegal were employed in the manufacture of kelp from sea-weed, which at its present low price is so unremunerative that numbers who supported themselves by it have been thrown out of employment, and destitute.

5347. Are the nonresident proprietors most numerous in Clare or Donegal?—I have not the means of answering that question accurately, but my own impression is that the absenteeism of both counties is pretty nearly equal; the great majority of the large proprietors in Donegal are nonresidents or absentees; I calculate them at about one-third of the rental.

5348. One or other of these causes may have contributed to the greater destitution in Clare?—Yes; in those districts where all of them may be in operation together, the destitution cannot fail to be greatly increased.

5349. Having pointed out what appears to you to be the operating causes of destitution, what changes would you recommend in the existing poor law?—Among the most essential is a reconstruction of the large unions in the south and west of Ireland by the formation of additional unions, with regular and permanent workhouse arrangements, without which I fear it would be impossible to carry out the law effectually. As an example of the inconvenience of the existing arrangements, I may instance the union of Kilrush. It contains a population of 84,253, scattered over 232 square miles, and was relieving, in July 1848, 23,967; the paupers and relieving officers having to come in some cases 20 miles to the workhouse. The affairs of the union were theoretically managed by an inspecting officer and two vice-guardians, but practically they were administered by the relieving officers, who possess neither the influence, energy, moral courage, or honesty requisite for such responsibilities, and to deal with such large masses of destitution and dishonesty. The size of these unions operate with great hardship upon the really destitute, who have to come great distances, whilst the impostors succeed from having none of their neighbouring rate-payers confronted with them. The want of adequate workhouse accommodation, as a necessary consequence of these large unions, and the evil results from the impossibility of testing destitution, is strikingly seen by contrasting the unions in Clare with those in Donegal. Clare, as I have already shown, the richer county, with small workhouse accommodation, was relieving 63,890; while Donegal, the poorer county, with much greater workhouse accommodation, was only relieving 8,904, less than one-seventh. A contrast between the unions in England and Ireland is very striking. The population of England and Wales is 15,906,741, and the number of unions 626, giving an average population of 25,812 to each union; in Ireland the population is 8,175,124, and the unions only 131, which gives an average population of 62,405 to each union, or nearly three times as many as in the English unions, although the proportionate destitution is vastly greater. The annexed table exhibits the comparative workhouse accommodation and destitution in Clare and Donegal.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:—]

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE

The Unions in the County CLARE.

UNIONS.	Ratable Property.	Population, 1841.	Permanent Workless Accommodations.	Accommodations proportioned to Population.	On Out-door Relief List.	Observations.
	£. s. d.					
Ennistymon - -	67,480 17 -	45,265	630	1 to 62 3-10	14,424	Workhouse, as a test, is nearly insuperative in these Unions.
Scarriff - - -	44,009 19 -	35,663	680	1 to 52 3-10	17,365	
Ennis - - - -	101,923 9 6	77,640	800	1 to 97 3-10	18,728	
Kilrush - - -	52,629 8 0	52,353	800	1 to 109 8-10	13,692	
TOTAL - - £.	352,708 7 -	263,601	2,900	1 to 94 1-10	63,999	

Proportion of Population relative to Value - - 1 to £. 1. 0s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 Proportion of Population on Out-door Relief - 1 in 4 1-10.

The Unions in the County DONEGAL.

UNIONS.	Ratable Property.	Population, 1841.	Permanent Workless Accommodations.	Accommodations proportioned to Population.	On Out-door Relief List.	Observations.
	£. s. d.					
Lettistymon - -	31,335 12 1	25,931	400	1 to 64 $\frac{1}{2}$	- -	Only 300 in house. Only 160 in house. About half field.
Bunfughly - -	10,448 8 6	18,371	200	1 to 43 $\frac{1}{2}$	- -	
Stranaboe - -	28,482 5 -	25,786	400	1 to 64 $\frac{1}{2}$	- -	
Inishowen - -	26,607 - -	45,560	600	1 to 76 $\frac{1}{2}$	550	
Donagel - - -	51,632 - 3	41,371	500	1 to 82 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,217	{ One or two small proprietors only resident in Union.
Glenties - - -	16,330 5 -	43,371	500	1 to 87 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,062	
Ballyshannon -	51,635 12 5	45,403	500	1 to 86 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,259	
Millford - - -	51,377 8 5	38,108	400	1 to 95 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,890	
TOTAL - - £.	280,170 10 11	280,986	2,700	1 to 75 7-10	8,904	

Proportion of Population relative to Value - - 1 to 17s. - $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 Proportion of Population on Out-door Relief - 1 in 31 $\frac{1}{2}$.

5350. Would you also diminish the areas of taxation?—A diminution in the area of taxation is, I believe, the point upon which the hopes of saving a large portion of Ireland mainly depends. In the unions in the north of Ireland these divisions are universally smaller, and the poor law has consequently worked comparatively well; they were formed there with the express view of concentrating as far as possible individual property, and thereby securing a community of interest and mutual co-operation. But in the south and west, parishes have been generally adopted as the areas of taxation, and consequently all stimulus to industry, community of interest, and mutual co-operation have been effectually prevented.

5351. In what respect do large areas of taxation operate injuriously?—Nothing can save Ireland from universal ruin but the promotion of emigration and employment; and just in proportion as the areas of taxation are large, so must that individual responsibility be diminished which is the best stimulus to the adoption of these remedies; and where that responsibility becomes so divided as it is in most of the southern and western unions, it is hopeless to expect that resident proprietors will incur the responsibility of providing for their own poor independently of the rates, while they are rendered liable for the poor of absentee and other proprietors associated with them in the same electoral division who will do nothing for their own.

5352. Do you consider that large areas of taxation have a direct tendency, and have operated to encourage the clearance of estates, by the eviction of small occupiers?—It is quite certain that it must and has that effect. I will illustrate it thus: A. is an electoral division, valued at 4,000 £. per annum; B. is a proprietor having 500 £. per annum; C. is a proprietor having the remaining seven-eighths, or

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or 3,500 *l.* per annum. B. having neglected his property, or having placed it in the hands of middlemen, it has become sub-divided and cottiered; he ejects 20 tenants and 20 cottiers; in doing so he throws 300 paupers upon the electorate for support; the cost for these at 4 *l.* per head per annum is 800 *l.*, which will require a rate of 4 *s.* in the pound, of which B.'s share, who is alone responsible for the poverty, will be but one-eighth (100*l.*); while C. will have to pay the remaining 700*l.*, though he may not have one pauper, and may be mortgaging his property to employ his poor. But if B. were obliged to bear the whole burden of the taxation for those he ejected, from his property being a separate area of taxation, and if he could not shift any portion of it on C., there can be little doubt he would pause and calculate the cost before he ejected, and that he would adopt emigration or employment rather than eviction.

5353. How far would you carry the limitation of the areas of taxation?—On this point it is difficult to define the maximum and minimum limit without reference to each peculiar case, and without a knowledge of the other changes which may be made in the poor laws. Townlands, from their number (66,000), are quite out of the question; but I would like to see it pushed as near as possible to the limits of estates, because I believe that individualizing responsibility is the soundest principle to go upon in the existing condition of Ireland, and is the one which would secure the greatest amount of employment, diminish destitution to its greatest extent, and bring it into its most manageable shape.

5354. Would not the adoption of estate electorates, or very small areas of taxation, place many districts, by the greater concentration of poverty, in such difficulty as to render them unable to provide for their existing destitution?—Yes, I am quite aware of that inconvenience; it is one, however, which already exists in many cases in the present electoral divisions. For example, the expenditure in the year ending 29th September 1848 was, in Clifden electoral division, 43 *s.* 1 *d.* in the pound; in Clare Island, 36*s.* 7 *d.* in the pound; in Mullaghderg, 36*s.* 8½ *d.* in the pound; and in Islandady, 22 *s.* 9 *d.* in the pound; and in many others at large poundage rates; and therefore the question of aid would arise whether as applicable to electorates of greater or lesser extent; and although theoretically there would be proportionably greater aid required in individual cases from the concentration of poverty into smaller areas of taxation, yet I think that in the aggregate aid to a smaller amount would be required, from the greater encouragement which would be thus held out to employ. No system can promote emigration or employment which does not separate the good from the bad, the sound from the unsound; and the separating of those plague spots of poverty into distinct districts would prevent the spread of pauperism, while it would at the same time facilitate the application of those peculiar remedies which may be necessary to restore particular localities to a healthy state; but the present system of blending the good and bad together is little else than a principle of communism of the worst kind.

5355. What remedies then would you suggest for such localities?—If the system of estate electorates, or very small areas of taxation were adopted, there would be then, as there are at present, many electoral divisions or areas of taxation whose value would not be adequate to meet their destitution; to those areas, as well as to many existing electoral divisions, it is manifest that extraneous aid must be extended. Those are the districts to which, with the aid of the proprietor, loans and grants to aid emigration ought to be made. I would endeavour to put each proprietor in the position of being able to extricate himself by the exercise of his greatest energies, and I would aid him to make that effort; and when he did so, I would give him a perfect exemption from the consequence of the neglect of his neighbours; but where he failed to do so, having the power, I would let him suffer the consequences.

5356. Would you propose that the fee of the land should be made ultimately responsible for arrears of rate?—Before that could be done with justice, the existing law must be totally changed; at present the ratepayers are the parties who have, as an elective body, the power of imposing the rates and virtually of administering the law. It would therefore be most unjust to throw upon the fee of the land the ultimate liability they might create, without giving the proprietor a greater power than he at present possesses of controlling that expenditure, and of evicting in the most summary manner, and of enforcing his rights against, those who permitted the accumulation of rates upon his estate. Indeed any such arrangement in the present anomalous condition of Ireland would be most unjust and impolitic, and it clearly could never be adopted under the present system of

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electoral divisions; but in a less unnatural condition of society I think the principle a sound one, that the property itself ought to be made liable for the destination on it before it could call for aid from other districts, although such a system has never been recognised in England, where its application would have been more prudent and just. But where such a necessity could arise, it would prove the existence of such a state of society as ought to throw upon the Government who permitted it to grow up all the responsibilities of extricating it out of its difficulties; and I have already endeavoured to show that a district so circumstanced could be extricated out of those difficulties by emigration, with mutual advantage to all the interests involved, and without violating those rights by which the security of all property would be annihilated. And with reference to the application of such a principle to Ireland at such a moment as the present, it is to be recollected that we are still suffering from the consequences of a famine, with a poor law but recently brought into operation, and labouring under difficulties for which all classes are equally responsible, and none more so than the State. Indeed the application of such a principle to districts relieving 63 per cent. of the population, and expending 43 s. in the pound (as in Clifden and Clare Islands), would be absolute confiscation, although the land was originally purchased free from a liability to rates, and though the necessity which has arisen has been caused by the visitation of God.

5357. Very small arrears of taxation would involve the necessity of a law of settlement?—Yes; I am aware that there are many objections to a law of settlement; but Ireland is at present in an abnormal state, and although there may be both theoretical and practical difficulties in its way, I am of opinion that nothing can save us without a narrowed area of taxation; I am certain it is the least evil of the two; and for several years to come a modified law of settlement, with all its evils, is absolutely necessary, in order to secure that individual responsibility which can best secure the exercise of those energetic measures necessary to rescue us out of our difficulties. To be just, a law of settlement ought to have a retrospective operation.

5358. Is there not at present a law of settlement in Ireland?—Yes, so far as the liability of electoral divisions for all paupers resident within them 30 months during the last three years; I think the period of six months' absence should be extended to 12 months out of 36, or 18 out of 48. The operation of the existing law is to add rapidly to the number of union paupers, and therefore to the diminution of that individual responsibility to which I attach so much importance. It also operates as an encouragement to ejections, as the ejected seldom leave their land without obtaining something for it, and which may be sufficient to keep them out of the workhouse for the period necessary to constitute them union paupers, if they leave their own electoral division, which they generally do. It also tends to discourage the hiring of farm servants out of a different electorate, the period of six months being that which generally constitutes the period of farm service; and in towns composed of more than one electorate, it is only necessary to change from a lodging in one street to that in another for six months to be chargeable on the union instead of the electoral division, although lodging houses are those which usually contribute so much to the pauperism in towns.

5359. You are aware that occupiers valued at less than 4 l. are at present exempted from the payment of rate, and that that payment is thrown upon the landlord; do you approve of that change in the original law?—I do not; I think that change in the original law was a fatal error, and that it has given rise to much of the existing abuse of it. In England all occupiers, no matter how small their tenements may be, are liable for the rates; and in Ireland it is particularly desirable to make all the holders of land to feel the responsibilities attachable to land. The gross number of tenements in Ireland is 935,440, and of these 555,939 (much more than the half) are valued at not more than 4 l., and therefore by that change exempted from poor rates, and consequently all interest in the operation of the law has been annihilated in that very class who principally abuse the provisions of it. The reasons for this change appeared to me to be groundless, as it would have been more applicable to the collection of county cess, which is paid in two gales and in smaller sums, and is collected at a low poundage rate without difficulty.

5360. Would you recommend that this exemption should be done away with?—I would recommend it in the strongest manner. The poor law never will work well until we revert to the original law. The collection of rates could be greatly simplified

simplified by collecting them along with the county cess, and it would secure its being done at a reduced rate. So many payments to so many collectors is a great source of inconvenience to the farmers, and adds to the unpopularity of these taxes. The payment of the whole rate by the occupiers, although no part of the original law, is the law of England, and one cannot see why a different principle should be adopted in Ireland. It would operate with no injustice to the tenant, as all rates and taxes are virtual deductions from the rent, and ultimately paid by the landlord; but it is desirable to make all the occupiers feel that the payment is made by themselves to secure their co-operation on the same principle that the whole of the tithe rent-charge was thrown on the landlord to remove the irritation it occasioned against the Church.

5361. Would you then advocate the adoption of the English system, and make the whole rate payable by the occupiers?—If Ireland and England are to be put in a similar condition as to taxation, it would be most unjust that the Irish proprietor should bear directly half the burden of the poor rate; hitherto the effect of this, together with the 4*l.* exemption, has been to throw nearly two-thirds of the whole rate upon the proprietor, although his control in securing a just valuation, or in administering the law economically, has been perfectly nugatory; if it be just and sound in principle to throw the whole rate upon the occupiers in England, where the condition of society is more sound, and the rights of property are more secure, it would certainly be doubly so in Ireland, where the owners of property have so little practical control in asserting their rights, and where the poor law is so often administered by vice-guardians and others whose personal interests are disconnected with its management, and often antagonistic to those of the proprietor.

5362. Would you allow every ratepayer to vote at the election of guardians?—To do so would amount to universal suffrage; it led at first to the election of guardians not qualified to fill their situation, and would under the altered and extended law have annihilated all property in Ireland. I would still confine the right of voting to a rateable value of 4*l.* at least, and would like to see it raised to 5*l.*, both for the benefit of the poor and the rich.

5363. Do you think it would be just to exclude any ratepayers from voting?—I do. I think the principle of "qualification" is even more defensible, as applicable to poor law than to Parliamentary electors; the Parliamentary representative has the power not only of imposing the taxes, but of deciding the classes of society who are to be taxed; but the poor-law representative has only the power of administering the fund, and determining its amount. Both these powers are exercised under definite laws, and subject to the immediate control of the Poor-law Commissioners, and therefore placed under vigilant restraint: and guardians entitled to act, by a high qualification, and selected by those who chiefly contribute to the rates, must be more deeply interested than the small ratepayers in administering economically a fund in which their taxation bears so large a proportion.

5364. Do you think it would be desirable to raise the qualification of guardians?—I think it has been a great error to fix the minimum qualification of guardians so low as at present. I have already shown that raising the qualification in Glenties from 5*l.* to 10*l.* has reduced the expenditure 923*l.* in 15 weeks, a strong proof how faulty the popular principle has been as applied to poor laws: in fact the poorer the union the lower the qualification has been fixed, although those were the districts in which the greatest difficulty existed, and in which the greatest administrative ability and honesty was required.

5365. Do you think the power of appointing vice-guardians ought to be continued?—I think it a most unconstitutional power, and that it could alone be defended where a large portion of the funds to be administered were provided by the State. In practice I am confident it has led to the greatest abuse, as all personal interest and local knowledge are quite excluded in the administration of the law. A comparison of the undissolved unions in Connaught with those which have been dissolved is very striking as illustrative of the better management of the local guardians; thus in the four undissolved unions in Connaught the average expenditure for 12 months up to September 29th, 1848, has been in Ballinacloe, 2*s.* 1*d.* in the pound; in Manorhamilton, 2*s.* 3*d.*; in Sligo, 2*s.* 10*d.*; in Swineford, 5*s.* 9*d.*. But in the 14 dissolved unions, it has been in Clifden, 1*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*; in Westport, 1*l.* 4*s.*; in Ballina, 10*s.* 11*d.*; in Castlebar, 10*s.* 7*d.*; in Ballinrobe, 8*s.* 10*d.*, downwards to Boyle, the lowest, 2*s.* 9*d.*. Again, the

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Government and British Association grants or advances to the four undissolved unions during the same period, was only 3,190 *l.*; but to the 14 dissolved unions it amounted to 196,521 *l.* The amount of rates collected in the four undissolved unions during the same period, was 50,062 *l.*; but in the 14 dissolved unions, it was only 132,697 *l.* The rates remaining uncollected September 20th, 1848, in the four undissolved unions, was 33,653 *l.*; and in the 14 dissolved, 112,728 *l.* The proportion of population obtaining relief in the four undissolved was, in the Ballinasloe, 1·3 per cent.; Maamohamilton, 1·3 per cent.; Sligo, 3·1 per cent.; and Swineford, 4·3 per cent. But in the 14 dissolved unions it was, in Clifden, 37·3 per cent.; Ballinrobe, 20·8 per cent.; Ballina, 19·6 per cent.; Carrick-on-Shannon, 17·6, downwards to Boyle, the lowest, 3·8 per cent. I have already pointed out the abuses of this system as exemplified in the revision of the relief lists on my own property in the Kilrush Union, and if the results of all the inquiries instituted on this subject were produced by the Poor-law Commissioners, I cannot doubt that they would prove how ruinous such a system has been; and that it has entailed upon dissolved unions vastly greater evils than the appointment was intended to remedy.

5366. How would you secure the efficient discharge of the duties of guardians?—I think the previous suggestions I have offered of raising the qualification of the electors and of guardians, would be certain to secure the election of guardians qualified and anxious to discharge their duties. The whole success of the poor-law administration depends upon the efficient discharge of those duties; no substitute can supply the want of that administrative ability, personal interest, and local knowledge which it would secure; and where these three are not combined, the failure of the law in accomplishing its purposes will be in the direct proportion in which one or more of them may be wanting. Definite penalties ought to be attached to the neglect of their duties, and a fresh election ought to be held where those duties are neglected, and on a repetition of the offence on the subsequent election, the Board of Guardians should have the power to nominate a guardian to replace the one neglecting his duty. The dismissal of a Board of Guardians involves the whole union in its ruinous consequences, as well as the offending members of it.

5367. Do you think that it would be possible to enforce penalties against a body composed of so many individuals?—I do not see any difficulty in doing so. The duties of guardians are generally pointed out in the sealed orders of the Commissioners, and the proceedings of the Board are recorded in the minutes. The penalties (which would, I think, seldom have to be enforced under the changes I have suggested) might be enforced before the assistant barrister on the complaint of the Inspector, who could always be present at the meeting of the Board, when the matter was formally submitted to it, previous to proceeding for those penalties.

5368. Have you any charge to propose with regard to the valuation of unions?—I think the valuation of all unions ought to be independent of the control of the guardians, which has often been most unjustly exercised, and they ought to be made upon a uniform standard. If the suggestions I have offered were adopted, and the whole rate, as in England, thrown upon the occupiers, the difficulties of a rack-rent valuation would at once be got rid of, and the Ordnance townland valuation could be adopted as a uniform and accurate relative scale for the collection of the poor rate and county cess, and it would be only necessary to add those descriptions of property which are excluded from the present townland valuation for county cess. But as long as the law throws on the proprietor half the poundage rate upon the rent he receives, the struggle will continue to reduce the poor-law valuation below the letting value, with a view of shifting unjustly from the one party the burden justly belonging to the other. All rates and taxes being deductions out of the value of the occupation, they would ultimately fall upon the proprietor by a reduction in rent; but the occupier would be directly identified in the payment, and therefore become an efficient instrument in controlling the abuse of the law.

5369. Would you leave the appointment of officers in the hands of the guardians?—I think a great deal of the mismanagement of unions has resulted from the incompetence of the officers appointed. I think they ought to be paid and selected by the Government, and that a training department should be established for them in the Dublin workhouses. The appointment of officers constantly leads to disputes, and often establishes permanent factions on the Board. The greater portion of the time of the clerks is taken up with preparing Returns for the Commissioners

missioners and Parliament, to the neglect of their local duties, and many Boards *J. F. Stewart, Esq.* have been obliged to appoint assistants.

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5370. You are aware that children at the age of 15 are entitled to relief, independent of their parents; do you think it would be desirable to alter that provision of the law?—I do; I think it is leading to great abuse. Persons holding considerable farms are thus enabled to place their children on the relief lists; and where out-door relief is administering, and the workhouse accommodation inadequate to test destitution, it is becoming a very serious evil. As our constitution does not permit a minor under the age of 21 years to exercise the rights of property, it seems inconsistent, on the other hand, to give a pauper a right to relief separate from his parents at 15 years of age.

5371. Do you think that the quarter-acre clause ought to be retained?—I think Mr. Gregory's clause was one of the few redeeming points in the amended poor law. Its repeal would annihilate all industry and all prosperity in Ireland. Theoretically it was the most effectual restraint to improper persons being placed on the relief lists, but under the lax administration of the poor law in Munster and Connaught it has too often practically failed in securing that object; and the occupiers of considerable holdings have been placed on the relief lists by a fraudulent assignment of their farms to their children, or by the tender of the possession of all but the house and a quarter of an acre to the landlord, who they know is unable to take a portion without the surrender of the whole. I think that if the receipt of relief were made a legal surrender of any tenement above a quarter of an acre, a great amount of fraud would be prevented. But while the occupier is permitted to make a nominal surrender of a portion of the premises to qualify him for relief, and while he is able legally to turn round upon his landlord and to claim a legal possession in the whole, and practically, by intimidation, to prevent others from taking the land, the Gregory clause is perfectly nugatory.

5372. What is your opinion with regard to the amended poor law entitling the able-bodied to out-door relief?—My opinion is that out-door relief to the able-bodied is a ruinous system in any country; it was found to be so in England, and led to the amended poor law; it is doubly ruinous in Ireland, where the disproportion between capital and labour is so much greater; and it is certainly unsuited to meet the complicated evils of a prolonged famine: it has added to the number of labourers by breaking down the farming classes, and has therefore diminished the demand for labour and the means for employing it; it is rapidly hurrying to America the small capitalists, whilst the pauper and unemployed labourer must remain a continued drain upon the energies and resources of the country.

5373. Has not the universal opinion of the Poor-law Commissioners, and of eminent statesmen, been opposed to the application of out-door relief to the able-bodied in Ireland?—This measure has never been defended on principle; it appears to have been adopted rashly as an expedient to avoid pressing evils, but without due reference to the consequences likely to result from it; nothing can be more strong than the united and unbiassed opinions of persons of undoubted experience against it; and I would therefore, in corroboration of these opinions, refer to the following strong sentiments against it. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, on the laws relating to the poor of Ireland, July 1846, refer, on the subject of out-door relief, to the following extracts from the evidence of witnesses of knowledge and experience, and who stand free of all suspicion of any undue bias from local interests. Mr. G. C. Lewis, one of the Poor-law Commissioners, having been asked, "What is your opinion with regard to giving out-door relief?" answered, "My belief is, that the introduction of a system of out-door relief in Ireland similar to that which is obtained in England would be a most disastrous measure; I believe that in a few years, however carefully guarded the law might be, and however trustworthy and intelligent the administration of the relief might be, it would absorb all the surplus produce of the soil, and I think that it would in a short time deteriorate the condition of the persons for whose benefit it was introduced; I think it would impoverish the rich without improving the condition of the poor." Before the Committee on the Burdens of Real Property, Mr. Senior, whose attention has long been devoted to this subject, and who was one of the original Commissioners of Inquiry into the poor law of England, was asked, "What do you conceive would be the consequence in Ireland if to the existing poor law were added out-door relief?" answered, "I believe that all the evils produced in England in 300 years would be produced in Ireland in 10." "Would you conceive that in that case the poor law,

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so operating, would be a heavy burden on the land in Ireland?" answered, "It would be an entire confiscation." Mr. Gulsan, Poor-law Commissioner, on being asked, "Whether anything in the shape of out-door relief would not rather aggravate than diminish the evil of mendicancy?" replied, "Certainly; I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion, that anything approaching to out-door relief in Ireland would very soon swamp the whole property of the country." Mr. Twisleton, who had great experience both in England and Scotland, gives a still more detailed, but an equally decided opinion; he says, "I conceive it would be a fatal step to introduce any system of out-door relief for the unemployed population of Ireland; I am aware that persons of high character, for whom I have the greatest respect, have expressed themselves favourable to a proposition of that kind; but I am convinced it would be attended with most disastrous consequences, and would seriously aggravate the misfortunes of Ireland. The labourers of that country are principally agricultural, and I believe that it is morally impracticable to devise a system of out-door relief for an agricultural population receiving low wages, which shall place a pauper in a worse condition than that of the independent labourer. It is plain that the principle on which every sound system of relief to an able-bodied person hangs is, that he shall be placed in a worse condition than the independent labourer. In a workhouse you effect this object by the test of restraint; restraint is irksome to every person; a destitute able-bodied man applies for relief, you give him food and lodging; but you deprive him of his natural liberty as long as he continues dependent upon you; although, therefore, he might get better food and lodging in the workhouse than in his own cottage, he will not go into the workhouse as long as any other means of subsistence are open to him; but when you endeavour to employ simple labour as a test of destitution for an agricultural population, and to place the pauper by this means in a worse position than that of the independent labourer, you are met by all kinds of difficulties; in the first place, if there is a regular system of out-door relief in return for the work, the work would be certain to the paupers thus employed. Now the work of ordinary labourers is uncertain, and I have no doubt that if there was anything like a general system of works in the country as a test, a considerable number of labourers would prefer going to that work, which would be certain, to working for farmers, which is uncertain. I see no satisfactory way out of this difficulty; you may endeavour to evade it by making the work degrading, by giving wages lower than the ordinary wages, or by exacting work harder than the ordinary work. To make the work degrading would be a demoralizing expedient, and ought not seriously to be contemplated for a moment. To give lower wages than the ordinary rate of wages in Ireland would, in the long run, rouse the feelings of the country. Cases would be brought forward of labourers with large families receiving wages apparently insufficient for their subsistence, and it would be found impossible to resist the demand for raising their wages. And as for making pauper labour harder than agricultural labour, I doubt whether the Legislature can devise any general system which will produce the result. I believe that you would fail in the attempt, even though you stationed over the country a corps of engineers and taskmasters specially educated for the purpose. Now, what I have said would apply to the case of a population living entirely on wages; but when you come to Ireland, where a considerable portion of the population do not live wholly on wages, but live upon the produce of their little holdings of land, as any work of the kind would be pure gain to such persons, it is perfectly impracticable, I consider, to devise any test but that of the workhouse, which would put them in a condition inferior to that of the independent labourer." Mr. Twisleton's evidence is fully confirmed by Mr. Clements (then a Poor-law Commissioner), who, being asked his opinion respecting out-door relief, said, "That he could not fail to have turned his attention to this great question." "I think," he adds, "the advocates for out-door relief in Ireland have very little knowledge of the inextricable web of difficulties that they would get into if such a law were passed. I cannot contemplate the possibility of obtaining the funds necessary for the administration of general out-door relief in Ireland. Of national resources I am not speaking, but of the ordinary way in which a tax is levied." He was then asked, "If the demand upon the local funds were such as your answer presupposes, would it not have the immediate effect of materially diminishing the means of employing labour, and would it not consequently, in proportion as it extended relief to pauperism, diminish the labour-fund on which the industrious rely?"

rely?" The answer given is, "Certainly." This evidence was given on oath, J. F. Stewart, Esq.
 previous to the aggravated difficulties of the late famine, by four Poor-law Com- 30 April 1849.
 missioners of great experience. In 1822 a Committee of the House of Commons,
 appointed to consider the state of the Irish, reported, that "any system of relief,
 however benevolently intended, leaving the peasantry to depend upon the interpo-
 sition of others rather than upon their own labour, cannot but repress all those
 exertions of industry which are essentially necessary to the improvement of the
 working classes." The Poor-law Commissioners of England, on the subject of
 labour-rate, thus expressed themselves: "Under the labour-rate system, relief
 and wages are utterly confounded; all wages partake of relief, and all the relief
 partakes of wages. The labourer is employed, not because he is a good workman,
 but because he is a parishioner; he receives a certain sum, not because that sum
 is the value of his services, but because it is what the vestry has ordered to be
 paid: good conduct, diligence, skill, all become valueless. We deplore the mis-
 conception of the poor in thinking that wages are not a matter of contract, but
 right; that any diminution in their comforts, occasioned by an increase of their
 numbers without an equal increase of the fund for their subsistence, is an evil to
 be remedied, not by themselves, but by the magistrate." In 1836 the Commis-
 sion of Inquiry into the State of the Poor in Ireland reported that "the rental of
 the country goes to feed commerce, to give employment, directly or indirectly,
 to profitable labour, and to keep society in a healthy state. If any considerable portion
 of it were devoted to the support of unprofitable labour, it would be in a great degree
 consumed without being reproduced. Commerce must decay, and the demand for
 agricultural produce and all commodities, except potatoes and coarse clothing,
 must immediately contract; rents must therefore diminish, while the number of
 persons out of employment and in need of support must increase, and general
 ruin be the result. As the parish of Chesham became to other parishes in Eng-
 land, so would very many of the parishes in Ireland be to the residue at the end
 of a year from the commencement of any system for charging the land indefinitely
 for the support of the labourers, and as these parishes must bring down all others
 to their level, the whole of Ireland would soon have to lean on Great Britain for
 support. Thus instructed we cannot recommend parochial employment or out-
 door relief for the labourers of Ireland. We cannot recommend a system which
 offers bounties to improvidence." Mr. Nichols, in his reports on the Irish
 poor law, says, "To guard against the abuse and traces of evils which have uni-
 versally attended the unrestricted distribution of out-door relief to parties out
 of the workhouse, I further propose that no relief should be given out of the
 workhouse. The strict limitation of relief may possibly be objected to, on the
 ground that extreme want is found occasionally to await large portions of the
 Irish population, who are thus reduced to a state bordering on starvation, and
 caught therefore, it may be asserted, to be relieved at the public charge without
 being subjected to the discipline of the workhouse. This is, however, an extreme
 case, and it would not, I think, be wise to adapt the regulation of poor law
 administration in Ireland to the possible occurrence of such a contingency. I do
 not, therefore, propose to make any exceptive provisions of out-door relief in any
 shape, not even in kind; but I recommend that in Ireland relief should be
 limited strictly to the workhouse." Lord John Russell, in 1837, in introducing
 the Irish poor law, said, "It was a long time before any mischief was found
 to arise from the English poor-law, but there arose about the end of the last cen-
 tury, from circumstances which occasioned a scarcity of provisions, a notion that
 all persons, whether deserving or undeserving, were entitled to be maintained by
 the parish funds. It was impossible that such an opinion of the law could be
 carried into effect without occasioning the greatest evils. The Poor-law Commis-
 sioners are of opinion, and I think with them, that the administration of out-door
 relief would lead to a most pernicious system, mixing up mendicancy and charity
 with labour; and if we were at once to adopt this system, I certainly do think
 that not only would those evils take place in Ireland that existed in England, but
 I believe that those evils would be very much greater, and that out-door relief
 would absorb a much greater part of the profit of the land." The Earl of Carlisle,
 in resisting a proposition to introduce a clause for granting out-door relief in the
 original Bill, said, "I must give my most direct opposition to this proposition,
 thinking as I do, that the worst clauses in the English Poor-law Act, and those
 which tend most to mar its beneficial progress, are those which extend the right
 of out-door relief. If Parliament once consents to open the out-door relief in
 Ireland,

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Ireland, there would hardly be a family that would not take advantage of it, and throw themselves on the fund." The Poor-law Commissioners, in 1839, in expressing an opinion on the distribution by the guardians of even voluntary subscriptions, say, "The guardians and other officers of the unions would find that they had created a number of pauperized dependents, similar to the pauper classes in England under the old system, whom it would be exceedingly difficult afterwards to restore to a reliance upon their own unaided exertions for support." In 1846, Sir James Graham, in discussing Mr. Shannon Crawford's proposal for out-door relief, says, "Had such a proposition rendering out-door relief compulsory in Ireland, and extending it only to the aged and infirm, formed part of the Bill as originally introduced, the measure would not have received the sanction of the Legislature. This I say even if the proposition had referred only to the aged and infirm; but the honourable gentleman now goes further, and asks under the pressure of temporary circumstances to extend out-door relief to the able-bodied, by means of a compulsory rate. We have had experience in this country of the danger, even under temporary pressure, of giving out-door relief to the able-bodied: it constituted in fact a payment out of the rate in aid of wages, and led to a system of relief now called in England the 'labour rate,' which, of all the noxious offshoots of the poor-law in this country, proved to be the most dangerous and the most injurious. We have had experience in this matter in England, and having that experience I cannot for one moment entertain a proposition which even upon a general view of policy, in reference to Ireland, I seriously and deliberately believe would introduce a most perilous and noxious system."

5374. How would you propose to get rid of the system?—I would adopt the same plan as in the autumn of 1847, when the Relief Commission terminated. I would have arrangements made to secure additional workhouse accommodation for the able-bodied. This would be necessary in but few cases if the limiting the areas of taxation were carried out, and all the other suggestions which I have offered with regard to emigration adopted. I think there are few districts in which the system might not be given up with safety, if the harvest were taken advantage of. I would give the guardians the option of adopting emigration, or compel them to hire additional workhouse accommodation. The poor cannot be allowed to perish, but if they cannot support themselves at home, they have no right to refuse emigration and remain a permanent drag upon the prosperity of the country, nor do I think many of them would be disposed to prefer the latter alternative. There would be now five months available for making and maturing these arrangements.

5375. A very general opinion is entertained that the town electoral divisions are more heavily taxed than rural districts; is that the fact?—I have been greatly surprised at the misapprehension which exists as to the greater taxation of town districts as compared with rural electoral divisions; the generally received opinion is quite contrary to the fact. The Table I now hand in will show that there are only 19 unions in which the taxation of civic districts is not exceeded by several rural electoral divisions in the union.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:]

A RETURN showing all those Unions in which the Amount per Pound of the Year's Expenses on the Valuation in 1848 exceeded in Town Electoral Divisions the Amount per Pound in any of the Rural Divisions, together with the Poundage Rate of such Excess.

PROVINCE.	UNION.	EXCESS.	CORRECTIONS.
		s. d.	
Ulster	Ballycastle	1 9	
	Lisburn	6 ½	
	Newtownards	11	

PROVINCE.	UNION.	EXCESS.	OBSERVATIONS.
		s. d.	
Munster	Kinsiston	3 2½	- - This division includes 16,032 acres.
	Cahir	- 4½	
	Carrick-on-Shannon	- 2	
	Cashe	1 -	
	Tinnahilly	1 9	
Leinster	Baldrothery	- 3	- - This division includes 15,000 acres.
	Dobbin	- 11½	
	Athy	- 1	
	Purtonstown	- 4½	
	Tellamore	9 4½	
	Draghda	- 2½	
	Noran	- 2½	
	Wexford	- 5½	
	Rathdrum	- 1½	
Connacht	Ballinglass	- 5½	- - This division includes 20,000 acres.
	Cliffon	10 4½	

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Thus, out of 181 unions, there are but 19 in which the town electoral division rate exceeds that in any rural districts, and that excess is but in six cases above 1s. in the pound, and in the three largest of these the excess is, strictly speaking, a rural excess; whilst, on the other hand, the excess in rural districts is often double, and in some cases three times the rate of that in the town electoral divisions.

5376. Do you think it would be desirable to fix a maximum limit of taxation for poor-law purposes?—There certainly are districts, such as Clifden, Clare Island, and others, which could not support the present destitution existing within them, and in such localities a maximum limit of taxation must be observed; but I would fix that limit at such an amount as would secure an abiding interest in the suppression of pauperism; and the aid to be given ought, as far as practicable, to be applied as a cure for the evil, and not as a prop to the poor law. I think that aid ought to come from Imperial resources, to which Ireland ought to contribute in her present proportion of taxation be ascertained to be unequal with that of England, as compared with their relative resources; it should be applied to emigration, as that would be the way in which it would produce the most general benefit to the empire, by diminishing throughout it the glut in the labour market, which operates so injuriously on every portion of it.

5377. Supposing that a maximum was fixed, as has been proposed, at 5s. for an electoral tax and 7s. for a union tax; can you give the Committee a return of the number of unions and electoral divisions in which a union rate in aid and a national rate in aid would be required?—Yes. I have prepared the return, which I now hand to the Committee, with the view of showing the number of unions and electoral divisions in which a union "rate in aid" and a national "rate in aid" would be required, assuming the expenditure in 1849 will be the same as in 1848. It shows that a union "rate in aid" will be required in 46 unions, for 282 electoral divisions; and a national "rate in aid," in 28 unions, for 157 electoral divisions; and therefore that the expenditure will exceed 5s. in the pound in 46 unions and in 282 electoral divisions, out of 641 divisions in those unions.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:]

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE

A RETURN showing the Unions in Ireland, and Number of Electoral Divisions in which the actual Expenditure in the Year ending 30 September 1848 exceeded a Rate of 5s. in the Pound, but did not exceed 7s. in the Pound, and those in which it exceeded 7s. in the Pound; also the highest Rate in any one Electoral District.

PROVINCE.	COUNTY.	UNION.	Number of Electoral Divisions above 5s. and not more than 7s.	Number of Electoral Divisions above 7s.	Total Number above 5s.	Highest Rate in any one Electoral Division.
ULSTER	Down	1. Glenties	1 out of 13	11 out of 13	12 out of 13	36 8d +
		2. Bellisborough	3 out of 11	1 out of 11	4 out of 11	7 6
		3. Lurgan	1 out of 10	"	1 out of 10	5 4
		4. Donagall	1 out of 11	"	1 out of 11	6 3
		5. Letterkenney	1 out of 14	"	1 out of 14	5 1
	TOTAL	5 Unions	7 out of 59	22 out of 54	19 out of 68	36 8d +
LEINSTER	Meath, Westmeath, Caran Westmeath, King's Co., Longford, Caran, Westmeath, Longford, Roscommon, Queen's County, King's Co., Queen's Co. Woodford, Kilkenny, Carlow.	1. Old Castle	2 out of 13	2 out of 13	4 out of 13	8 13
		2. Tallmore	1 out of 12	"	1 out of 12	6 7
		3. Granard	1 out of 15	"	1 out of 15	5 2
		4. Longford	4 out of 19	"	4 out of 19	6 8
		5. Abbeycix	1 out of 11	"	1 out of 11	6 -
	TOTAL	7 Unions	12 out of 104	4 out of 30	16 out of 134	8 2+
MUNSTER	Cork	1. Evis	4 out of 19	8 out of 19	14 out of 19	19 3d
		2. Smithstown	2 out of 13	8 out of 13	10 out of 13	15 1
		3. Kilmore	3 out of 13	8 out of 13	11 out of 13	10 12d
		4. Seaford	"	10 out of 10	10 out of 10	20 10+
		5. Bantry	2 out of 9	4 out of 9	7 out of 9	9 10d
	TOTAL	5 Unions	9 out of 54	30 out of 54	39 out of 54	20 10+
CONNAUGHT	Galway and Roscommon	1. Ballymore	1 out of 13	"	1 out of 13	5 5
		2. Clifton	"	4 out of 4	4 out of 4	45 1+
		3. Galway	3 out of 12	3 out of 12	6 out of 12	16 -
		4. Carr	2 out of 10	8 out of 10	10 out of 10	9 3d
		5. Loughrea	1 out of 15	"	1 out of 15	5 14
	TOTAL	5 Unions	7 out of 50	23 out of 40	30 out of 50	6 5d
MUNSTER	Cork	1. Ballymore	4 out of 13	1 out of 13	5 out of 13	7 2
		2. Clifton	4 out of 17	12 out of 17	16 out of 17	22 8
		3. Galway	3 out of 14	12 out of 14	15 out of 14	21 3d
		4. Carr	2 out of 10	8 out of 10	10 out of 10	23 9
		5. Loughrea	4 out of 12	4 out of 12	8 out of 12	8 14
	TOTAL	5 Unions	17 out of 66	37 out of 66	50 out of 66	12 4
	TOTAL	14 Unions	34 out of 171	75 out of 135	109 out of 185	45 1+

RECAPITULATION.

ULSTER	Parts of 5 Counties	5 Unions	7 out of 59	22 out of 54	19 out of 68	36 8d
LEINSTER	Parts of 16 Counties	7 Unions	12 out of 104	4 out of 30	16 out of 134	8 2
MUNSTER	Parts of Counties	90 Unions	72 out of 397	66 out of 269	138 out of 384	30 10
CONNAUGHT	Parts of 8 Counties	14 Unions	24 out of 171	75 out of 135	109 out of 185	45 1+
TOTAL		116 Unions	115 out of 631	107 out of 288	162 out of 347	45 1+

5378. Do you think that a rate in aid is defensible on principle or justice?—
 Certainly not. If the principle be that the land ought to be held responsible for the poor who grow up upon it, it would clearly negative the justice of supporting the pauper in Clare at the cost of the farmer in Yorkshire, and it would be equally unjust as regards the farmer in Down; as the principle, if just, cannot be altered by their greater or less proximity to each other, by a difference in the width of the Shannon as compared with that of the Irish Channel. And the principle which would render the land liable for all its pauperism, if it be just, would as clearly limit the area of that liability to the district in which it existed. A "rate in aid," therefore, limited to Ireland, would be most unwise, for these reasons:—1st. Because it would be a virtual repudiation of the principles of the Union. 2d. Because it is unjust to make particular portions of the empire exclusively liable for destitution for which they are not responsible. 3d. Because it would prove a discouragement to industry, by making the industrious responsible for the pauperism of the idle. 4th. Because if it establishes a maximum of taxation, it would remove all economic motives in those unions where that maximum must be attained. 5th. Because if a maximum be not fixed, the claim for a rate in aid has not been established. 6th. Because it would be inadequate even for 13 unions alone. 7th. Because being thus insufficient for the necessities of all, it would hold out a bonus to recklessness in order to obtain a share before it was exhausted, and, therefore, discourage the struggling union for whom no share might be left. 8th. Because its direct tendency would be to depress the good union to the level of the bad, and not to raise the bad to the level of the good. 9th. Because it would strike at the root of individual responsibility, and remove the stimulus to employ. 10th. Because it would be only a prop to a broken-down law, and not a cure for great social evils. 11th. Because it would aggravate those evils by adding to their permanence where it fails to furnish a cure. 12th. Because the opinion of all the poor-law authorities is strongly opposed to it, on the grounds of prudence and justice. 13th. Because it would be clearly a powerful stimulus to the clearance of estates, by throwing the burden of the evicted upon districts totally disconnected with them. And the return I now hand in shows how unequally aid has been hitherto extended to poor unions, and, therefore, the danger of entrusting such powers to the Poor-law Commissioners.

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

A RETURN showing Six Unions, in which the Highest Poundage Rates were made and in course of Collection, during the Year ending 29th September 1848, and to which no Grants were made, and contrasting them with Six other Unions, rated much lower, to which Grants were made to the Amount of £. 150,208, in aid of Rates.

Unions without Aid.	Rates.	DATE.	Unions Aided.	DATE.	Rates.	Amount of Grants.
Newcastle	s. d.	Dec. 1847; April 1848.	Bollina	September 1848	s. d.	£.
Keshmuck	14 -	Nov. 1847; Mar., Sept. 1848.	Bollinreboe	Oct. 1847; Sept. 1848	7 7	36,980
Tullamore	19 7	1848.	Galway	October 1847	6 8 ½	29,703
Limerick	18 7	April 1848; Sept. 1848.	Castlebar	Nov. 1847; Sept. 1848	6 -	25,093
Tipperary	10 5	Sept. 1847; Sept. 1848.	Westport	November 1848	5 6 ½	21,840
Bellinabrogh	11 - ½	June 1848.	Clifton	September 1848	6 9	31,079
Bellinabrogh	11 -	Dec. 1847; April 1848.			6 6 ½	47,001
Average	£. 11 10			Average	£. 5 5	
				Total	- - -	£. 150,208

5379. Have you any statement to show that the rate in aid would be inadequate?—The inadequacy of a rate in aid, even for 13 unions, is clear from this statement of the liabilities and assets of them, taken from the papers laid before Parliament on the distressed unions.

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

AN ESTIMATE of the FINANCIAL CONDITION of THIRTEEN UNIONS, showing that the "Rate in Aid" will even be inadequate for them.

UNIONS.	Population, 1841.	EXPENSES AND LIABILITIES, 1841.					LIABILITIES FOR 1842.					ASSETS FOR 1842.			Deficit 1842.
		Rate Collected in 1841.	Gross in Aid, 1841.	Total Funds Expended in 1841.	Debts due 31 January 1842.	Relief Administ'd in 1841.	Share Expenses in 1841.	Total Liabilities.	Outstanding 31st Dec. 1841.	Sum paid in 1841.	Total Assets for 1841.				
1. Ballinacree	104,267	85,719	30,177	46,457	42,582	16,330	13,716	32,289	84,328	8,602	10,177	12,369	89,140	This amount with regard to the financial condition of these unions is taken from the last papers on the subject, which had been forwarded to the Committee, which bearing the accounts to 31 January 1842.	
2. Ballyvaughan	58,163	40,900	37,400	20,000	12,223	0,004	6,079	13,331	25,004	2,023	9,389	6,441	15,223		
3. Carrigrohilly	23,465	16,216	23,465	46,105	32,465	0,231	3,428	28,403	33,108	1,412	9,389	3,971	26,107		
4. Galway	86,438	36,418	7,417	58,004	21,430	33,810	16,110	34,910	57,037	13,243	8,425	18,698	29,338		
5. Gort	43,843	33,037	11,875	36,911	16,875	0,207	7,803	30,123	36,943	3,612	8,425	7,133	15,378		
6. Kesh	86,659	34,402	6,614	11,875	12,003	6,710	8,238	19,933	32,331	3,230	12,439	16,036	22,440		
7. Kesh	89,513	36,916	12,439	16,875	16,919	31,904	8,033	21,262	38,499	3,621	12,439	16,036	22,440		
8. Scariff	53,232	44,560	14,990	28,370	20,119	11,073	6,460	34,110	44,507	5,043	16,298	19,432	23,668		
9. Wexford	77,032	34,870	6,113	27,230	37,416	9,420	3,664	27,410	39,081	4,093	0,118	11,163	28,875		
Total of 9 Unions	607,480	676,803	74,123	181,906	303,131	83,186	55,658	322,133	383,977	41,090	74,123	113,169	268,818	This statement is taken from the first papers laid before Parliament on its establishment, which brought the accounts down to 31 September 1842.	
1. Ballinacree	85,681	63,217	9,430	20,709	38,242	37,603	8,437	20,133	57,038	3,290	8,437	14,133	59,180		
2. Carrigrohilly	41,043	40,981	4,210	21,080	25,003	37,603	6,273	7,528	27,006	39,460	4,210	20,090	30,410		
3. Carrigrohilly	57,077	61,420	8,674	16,984	10,168	17,911	6,792	8,980	17,611	31,053	8,674	18,230	19,332		
4. Carrigrohilly	40,034	47,486	16,038	1,000	16,038	33,023	9,236	9,244	26,921	45,851	16,038	21,324	22,457		
Total of 4 Unions	223,835	252,134	40,343	64,560	103,994	106,648	21,738	37,409	106,433	17,292	40,343	55,286	102,338		
Total of 13 Unions	831,025	754,940	114,476	194,463	506,537	304,224	160,108	500,234	551,036	55,386	114,476	178,452	378,216		
Deduct amount of 6d. rate on 13,187,421d. - - £.														209,065	
Deficit - - £.														68,981	

Thus, supposing the entire amount of this "rate in aid" to be actually paid on every rateable person in Ireland, there would still be a deficiency of £8,5812 for 13 unions above, and 14 other unions, in aid of whose rates the Government and British Association had to advance £7,609 6. in 1840. But at the close of the year ending 31st September 1840 there were £1,000 in debt on their current accounts, £26,273 1, and as these unions were unable to discharge their own liabilities, it is not easy to see how they are to discharge by a "rate in aid" the debts of other unions; and therefore the "rate in aid" must fall on the remaining 43 unions, of which 39 are in Ulster, 12 in Munster, and 1 in Connaught.

The above estimate refers to only 14 of the poorest unions, and it also supposes that the same amount of rate can be collected in them that was collected in 1840; the enforcement of which has reduced to many farmers to the class of paupers, and raised so many small capitalists and proprietors, as is admitted by the Commissioners, magistrates, and vice-presidents in all their Reports. This estimate is also based on the supposition that the number of paupers in these backward unions will not exceed in 1840 the number on the lists in 1840; an assumption which is directly contradicted by the Reports of the Magistrates, and by a comparison of the number now on the lists with those at the corresponding period in 1840; and, there can be little doubt, that, in the rate-paying classes become paupered, the pauper lists must necessarily increase in a proportionate progression. In many unions, the kind of the ratepayers have relinquished their land, which now lies waste. All land is depreciated in value; and, consequently the "rate in aid" even if it could be equitably levied and enforced, would never produce the rate required; and a great portion of the outstanding rates is irrecoverable, and will never be realized.

J. F. Stewart.

J. V. Bennett, Esq.

30 April 1889.

5380. You are aware that the proposition to raise a rate in aid in Ireland instead of from imperial resources, is defended on the plea that Ireland is not as heavily taxed as England?—Yes, but I do not think that that is the fact. The very term “rate in aid” implies that a maximum limit of taxation has been already passed in those districts to which it is proposed to apply it; and if the maximum has not been passed, the claim for such aid cannot exist. The return I have already submitted to the Committee shows that a national rate will be required in 28 out of 131 unions, supposing the maximum fixed at 7*s.*; and therefore the extent to which a maximum of taxation at present exists must be apparent. Upon the subject of the relative taxation of England and Ireland, it appears to me that great misapprehension exists; and I feel certain that an inquiry into the existing burdens on property in Ireland would prove that her taxation is quite disproportioned to her resources. The following return of taxation in some of the Irish counties exhibits the truth of this remark.

[The *answ*er was delivered in, and is as follows:]

LIABILITIES of certain COUNTIES in Ireland, with even a Maximum Limit of Poor,
at 7*s.* 6*d.* in the Pound.

COUNTY CLARE:		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	
Repayment of relief works - - - - -		1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	for 10 years.
County cess (average of 3 years) - - - - -		2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	for ever.
Poor-rate (maximum limit) - - - - -		7 6	till the law is changed.
Relief advances (Burgoyne's Commission) - - -		9 10	for one year.
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ for depreciation of rateable property - -		18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 8	in the pound on the poor-law valuation.
Liabilities of County Clare - - -		18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	at present in the pound.
COUNTY MAYO:			
Repayment of relief works - - - - -		1 4	for 10 years.
County cess (average of 3 years) - - - - -		9 - $\frac{1}{2}$	for ever.
Poor-rate (maximum limit) - - - - -		7 6	till the law is changed.
Relief advances (Burgoyne's Commission) - - -		9 - $\frac{1}{2}$	for one year.
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ for depreciation of rateable property - -		13 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	in the pound on the poor-law valuation.
Liabilities of County Mayo - - -		17 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	at present in the pound.
COUNTY KERRY:			
Repayment of relief works - - - - -		- 10	for 10 years.
County cess (average of 3 years) - - - - -		9 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	for ever.
Poor-rate (maximum limit) - - - - -		7 6	till the law is changed.
Relief advances (Burgoyne's Commission) - - -		2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	for one year.
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ for depreciation of rateable property - -		13 3 5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	in the pound on the poor-law valuation.
Liabilities of County Kerry - - -		16 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	at present in the pound.
COUNTY GALWAY:			
Repayment of relief works - - - - -		- 11	for 10 years.
County cess (average of 3 years) - - - - -		1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	for ever.
Poor-rate (maximum limit) - - - - -		7 6	till the law is changed.
Relief advances (Burgoyne's Commission) - - -		2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	for one year.
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ for depreciation of rateable property - -		12 5 3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	in the pound on the poor-law valuation.
Liabilities of County Galway - - -		15 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	at present in the pound.

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County Limerick :		s.	d.	
Repayment of relief works	- - - - -	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	for 16 years.
County cess (average of 3 years)	- - - - -	1	8	for ever.
Poor-rate (mean rate)	- - - - -	7	6	till the law is changed.
Repayment of relief advances (Bergoyne)	- - - - -	2	7	for one year.
		12	- $\frac{1}{2}$	in the pound on the poor-law valuation.
Add $\frac{1}{4}$ for depreciation of rateable property	- - - - -	3	-	
Liabilities of County Limerick	- - - - -	15	- $\frac{1}{2}$	at present in the pound.

The payment of the constabulary is deducted out of the average of county cess. One-fourth additional taxation is added for the depreciation of the value of rateable property; as it is in effect the same whether you add one-fourth to the tax, or depreciate the property out of which it is paid one-fourth. Mr. Giffith has proved that one-fourth is less than he would have to deduct on a re-valuation of Ireland; and the above poor-rate is calculated on the rack-rent or poor-law valuation made previous to 1846. And in these calculations an allowance is made for lands lying waste, on which no rates can be raised, and by which an additional burden is shifted to other lands under tillage.

5381. But England is paying an income tax from which Ireland is exempted? —Yes; but there is this most material distinction which ought not to be lost sight of. In England all the poor-rate is paid by the occupier, in Ireland three-fourths is paid by the proprietor. In England the poor-rate is an incidence on the land of 300 years' standing; and all property has been purchased subject to it, and all its arrangements made with reference to the liability to this payment, and it is therefore on the same footing as tithes or rent-charges; in Ireland it is a new tax, and all the land has been purchased, settled and let, divested from the poor-rate. In England, eight years since, there was no income tax; in Ireland there was no poor-rate. In England 7 d. in the pound of income tax has been imposed; in Ireland a new tax of nearly 3 s. in the pound has been paid. In England it was proposed to make the 7 d. a shilling; Parliament refused. In Ireland it is proposed to make the 3 s. three shillings and sixpence in the pound. I make this comparison on the average of Ireland, but if particular districts be taken, as in Kesturk, that which is 7 d. in England has been 12 s. collected in Ireland, omitting all the repayments for famine advances. And in contrasting the relative resources of the two countries with a view to an equitable distribution of taxation, it is to be recollected that the repeal of the corn laws has operated with vastly greater severity on Ireland than England. Ireland is almost exclusively agricultural, having comparatively little manufactures. It is certain the price of agricultural produce is greatly diminished, and that that reduction was made for the promotion of manufactures and trade, in which Ireland has but little share. But in England the agricultural population is only 22 per cent., while in Ireland it is 64 per cent.; and therefore the relative loss by the change between England and Ireland has been as 22 to 64. In England the manufacturing population is 46 per cent., but in Ireland it is only 18 per cent., and therefore the relative gain between England and Ireland by a repeal of the corn laws has been in the proportion of 46 to 18. When the income tax was imposed in England it was admitted, even in that period of comparative prosperity, that Ireland could not afford it, and that it would not pay for its collection, and additional stamp and spirit duties were imposed in lieu of it; and it is difficult to see how an unparalleled famine operating with ruinous consequences on all the resources of Ireland, can place it now in a position to bear an additional impost, having already the increased burden of poor-rates averaging 2 s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound, and amounting in many cases to four times that amount. The imposition of additional taxation, under such circumstances, could only add to the miseries of Ireland, and would diminish the means of employment, and add to the masses of the unemployed and pauper population, who would ultimately overwhelm Great Britain and Ireland with a destitution for which the paltry revenue of 250,000 l. per annum would be a miserable recompense.

5382. What do you calculate would be the produce of the income tax if it were extended to Ireland?—The accompanying table is, I believe, a tolerably accurate estimate of the amount at which the gross produce of an Irish income tax might be calculated, omitting the cost of collection. If it were to be calculated on the

net

net income derivable from land in Connaught and Munster, it would not pay the cost of collection. *J. P. Stewart, Esq.*

20 April 1849.

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

In GREAT BRITAIN, I calculate the Income thus:

The Amount of Income Tax Collected in 1840, was—

	£.		INCOME.	
Under Schedule (A.)	2,526,781	representing property	80,980,866	at 7 d.
— Schedule (B.)	324,569	representing occupiers	11,125,184	at 7 d.
— Schedule (C.)	744,019	representing funds, &c.	90,936,388	at 7 d.
— Schedule (D.)	1,676,695	representing trades, &c.	67,551,828	at 7 d.
— Schedule (E.)	327,750	representing salaries	11,937,704	at 7 d.
Tax - - - £.	5,603,463	Income - - - £.	193,601,943	

In IRELAND, I calculate the Income thus:

	£.		INCOME.
Schedule (A.) - -	Ratable property - - - in gross, 13,187,421		
	Reduced one-fourth - - -	3,294,555	
			£. 9,892,866
Schedule (B.) - -	Occupiers (over 300 <i>l.</i> per annum) supposed - - -		309,090
Schedule (C.) - -	Funds (actual dividends) - - -		1,490,235
Schedule (D.) - -	Trade (one-eighteenth and a half of England) - - -		3,110,906
Schedule (E.) - -	Salaries (supposed, one-tenth of England) - - -		1,123,779
		£.	15,916,843
	Deduct, Absentees, already paying		
	Mortgages - ditto - - - } £ 5,000,000		
			£. 10,916,843

Tax, 981,660*l.*, on net amount, say 10,000,000 *l.*, at 7 d., and out of this the cost of collection is to be deducted.

* *Notes.*—This sum, in Schedule (D.), is got from the return of the amount of capital on which legacy duty was paid in Great Britain and Ireland, in 1846 and 1847; viz—

	1846.	1847.
	£.	£.
Great Britain - -	42,030,687	43,611,448
Ireland - - -	2,312,300	2,803,675

Being in the proportion of 18 to 1; and I therefore assume that the property included in Schedule (D.) ought to bear a similar proportion to each other in both countries. From this estimate the gross income of Ireland, on which additional revenue would be received, would appear to be about one-twentieth of that of England, and yet her population is as 8 to 13, or very nearly three-fourths.

5385. Whether would the "Rate in Aid" or the "Income Tax" add most to the Imperial Treasury?—The "Rate in Aid," if it could be collected on every ratable pound in Ireland, would produce more than the Income Tax. By the calculation I have made the Income Tax would not produce a gross additional revenue to the Treasury, at the highest calculation, of 300,000 *l.* It would tax the resident proprietors, and those who are now devoting their present income and
0.34. 24 mortgaging

J. F. Street, Esq.

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mortgaging their future resources (as I know in numerous instances which I could mention) to employ the poor; while it would exempt the absence from all further taxation, and therefore remove that stimulus to residence which his present liability to income tax was intended to produce, and it would thus peculiarly tax those who ought to be exempted, and exempt those who ought to be taxed. The ruinous consequences of the poor law, which has taxed Ireland beyond her resources, is a proof of the folly of imposing additional taxation on a country already sinking under existing burdens, and shows that direct taxes, like indirect taxation, may be pushed to such an extent as to diminish the receipts of the Treasury, by involving all classes in ruin.

5384. Is it the fact that the unions in Ireland have repudiated the repayment of the workhouse loans?—It is not the fact that the unions of Ireland have repudiated the repayment of the workhouse loans; many of the union workhouses were not opened until 1844, the year previous to the famine, and indeed many of the instalments were not advanced until that year, and therefore not repayable until 1845. Forty-seven unions have already made repayments, amounting to 36,220*l.*, and this, with 47,268*l.* surcharged and subsequently deducted, has liquidated 83,488*l.* of the original debt, and the total amount, with interest due in January 1847, was only 151,588*l.* 10*s.* It is ungenerous to accuse Ireland, suffering under a famine since 1845, of a repudiation of this debt, when she is even now unable to meet her local engagements for the support of her poor, 86 unions being in debt in September, as I have already shown, 268,273*l.* We are so clear from the charge of repudiation that an anxious wish was felt to have these repayments put on a satisfactory footing with a view to their liquidation; and I accompanied a number of the Irish Members in several interviews which they had with Sir Thomas Fremantle and Mr. Goulburn, with the view of equalizing the rates of repayment, by extending the period in poorer districts, such as Dunsfenghy, which would have to repay in the proportion of 2*l.* 16*s.* per cent., while Dublin would only have to repay 4*d.* per cent. A reference to the Returns of Turnpike Trusts which I hold in my hand, presented to Parliament 21 March 1849, No. 143, shows that England might with equal justice be charged with a repudiation of repayments due since 1817; and the returns presented to Parliament show how regularly the loans for county works have been paid by Ireland. In my country, Donegal, not one shilling is due. I would also add, that in the year ending 29th September 1848, the Board of Guardians expended 58,231*l.* on additional buildings to procure additional accommodation for paupers, and that it is not therefore fair to charge Ireland with a repudiation of her debts, in consequence of her temporary inability to meet her ordinary engagements while suffering under the pressure of a calamity which the turnpike trusts of England cannot allege as a palliation for their repudiation; and if the other extraordinary expenses incident to the famine since 1845 were added to the items I have enumerated, it would be found that the rateable property of Ireland had paid in extraordinary expenses more than what the building instalments would have amounted to; and I therefore think that the charge of repudiation is unfounded and unjust, and that no ground for additional taxation exists on that account. If the account between the county of Donegal and the Treasury were balanced, it would be found that the Treasury is indebted to the public charities in Donegal many thousand pounds, and that the Treasury set that county an example of repudiation. I would add that a Return presented to Parliament in 1842, and finance accounts of 1845 and 1846, show that Ireland has repaid, previous to the famine in 1845, 7,000,000*l.* out of 9,000,000*l.* advanced in loans out of the Exchequer; and that England and Scotland have only repaid 6,000,000*l.* out of 12,000,000*l.*

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

A * STATEMENT of the Amounts Borrowed from the EXCHEQUER BILL LOAN COMMISSIONERS by TURNPIKE TRUSTS, the Date of each Loan, the Rate of Interest, the Amount of Principal Repaid; and, the Amount of Principal, also of Interest, remaining Unpaid, on the 31st of January 1849.

DATE of EACH LOAN.	TURNPICKE TRUSTS.	LOANS Advanced.	DATE of INTEREST.	PRINCIPAL Repaid.	PRINCIPAL remaining Unpaid, 31st January 1849.	INTEREST Due and Unpaid, 31st January 1849.
		£.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1817 - Sept. 23	Galton and Porey Cress	5,500				
1816 - June 2	- Ditto -	2,000				
		4,500	4 per cent.	- - -	5,500 - -	4,322 15 9
1806 - Dec. 1	Eccleshill and Bradford	3,000	"	- - -	3,000 - -	3,314 7 6
1826 - Dec. "	Bradford and Thirsk	6,000	"	- - -	6,000 - -	1,867 7 4
1807 - May 14	Kirkstall and Otley District	9,000	"	8,000 - -	2,000 - -	98 10 2
1827 - July 2	Godley-lane Head	8,000	4 per cent.	7,900 - -	300 - -	4 2 -
1829 - April 18	Kingsledge, Dartmouth, and Modbury -	8,000	"	5,700 - -	300 - -	8 12 2
1829 - Aug. 17	Wakefield and Halifax	10,000	"	9,900 - -	300 - -	7 14 6
1830 - March 4	General and Downbury	5,000	"	1,997 18 1	309 1 11	13 3 9
1831 - June 13	- Ditto -	1,200	"	984 1 10	515 15 2	11 12 11
1832 - Feb. 6	Wooler and Barmish	15,000	"	9,600 - -	2,400 - -	87 11 9
1832 - March 12	Walling-street	1,000	5 per cent.	900 - -	200 - -	8 3 10
1832 - April 16	Birmingham and Bromsgrove	8,000	4 per cent.	5,800 - -	2,200 - -	64 7 5
1832 - July 12	Meenmouth Roads	1,700	"	925 - -	775 - -	14 16 9
1835 - Oct. 7	- Ditto -	4,800	5 per cent.	1,600 - -	2,200 - -	31 14 -
1839 - April 10	Newcastle and Lanton	1,500	"	1,300 - -	200 - -	11 1 11
1833 - Sept. 4	Doncaster and Selby	14,000	4 per cent.	- - -	14,000 - -	5,849 16 7
1834 - Feb. 25	Chester and Abergavenny, Shire-Newton Branch	2,000	"	1,535 - -	465 - -	50 16 2
1836 - Dec. 27	Chester and Abergavenny, Shire-Newton Branch	500	5 per cent.	500 - -	210 - -	14 5 -
1834 - Sept. 18	Birmingham, Redditch, and Pershore -	2,000	"	1,329 9 -	670 11 -	25 9 8
1834 - Nov. 18	Marlborough and Salisbury	2,000	"	1,700 - -	300 - -	1 18 6
1833 - Jan. 5	Wharfe, Low Moor, and Rud-dersfield -	5,000	"	3,350 - -	1,700 - -	87 19 -
1836 - Dec. 8	Cambridgeshire Main Line	7,500	4 per cent.	1,185 12 1	6,314 6 11	238 - 10
1836 - Nov. 20	Tavernham	1,100	"	173 5 10	925 14 2	94 18 7
1835 - Dec. 24	Minsterley and Churchstoke	2,500	"	1,190 - -	1,310 - -	53 18 -
1833 - April 19	- Ditto -	850	5 per cent.	455 - -	455 - -	15 3 11
1837 - Nov. 28	Harley and Backnall	2,000	"	1,100 - -	900 - -	4 13 6
	Holyhead Road Commission; to be appropriated as per Act 5 & 7 Will. 4, c. 35:					
1827 - April 25	- - - -	£ 10,000				
1837 - May 19	- - - -	20,000				
1838 - June 12	- - - -	20,000				
1840 - Dec. 13	- - - -	4,100				
		54,100	4 per cent.	2,108 6 5	51,993 14 7	3,450 6 1
1842 - April 25	Newcastle-under-Lyme and Drayton -	2,000	5 per cent.	1,166 13 5	833 6 9	75 4 6
1844 - July 22	- Ditto -	4,000	"	600 - -	3,400 - -	208 12 7
1845 - July 9	Newcastle-under-Lyme and Leek -	8,000	"	1,600 - -	4,200 - -	120 - -
1842 - July 18	West Kennet and Amersbury	2,000	"	800 - -	1,200 - -	28 14 2
1843 - July 17	Holywell District	2,000	"	625 - -	1,375 - -	53 18 9
1843 - July 31	Newcastle and Blyth Marsh	5,000	"	1,200 - -	4,800 - -	360 4 19
1843 - Aug. 1	Hawthorn Junction, Kent	3,000	"	941 3 9	4,058 18 3	67 17 -
1843 - Jan. 27	- Ditto -	3,000	"	330 15 -	2,670 5 -	43 9 3
1846 - Aug. 24	Newcastle-under-Lyme and Nantwich -	1,800	"	320 - -	1,370 - -	51 10 7
		£.				
		201,120	- -	73,960 6 5	131,154 14 9	20,815 19 7

Public Works Loan Office, South Sea House,
London, 15 March 1849.

J. S. Brickwood,
Secretary.

G. Carter,
Accountant.

J. F. Stewart, Esq.

20 April 1839.

5385. Under the existing poor law, if a revaluation were made of the tenements, are there not unions in which it would be impossible to strike or levy a rate?—Under the existing law, the valuator is bound by the Act, in valuing each tenement, to deduct the average cost of repairs, and all rates, taxes, and public charges; and therefore, taking Scariff as an example, he would have to deduct—

	£.	s.	d.
1. Rates, as estimated by the Commissioners, for 12 months - - - - -	-	17	- in the pound.
2. Repayments for public works - - - - -	-	1	10 ½
3. Relief advances - - - - -	-	2	10
TOTAL Deductions in the Pound - £.	1	1	8 ½

And therefore, omitting grand jury cess at 2 s. 6 d. in the pound, and repairs, &c., each tenement in Scariff must, on a re-valuation, be valued at 1 s. 8 ½ d. less than nothing, and consequently it is difficult to see how the rate could be struck, or out of what it would be paid.

5386. Could the reclamation of waste land be rendered practically available in the support of destitution?—To accomplish the reclamation of waste land by paupers, without capital, is absurd. It would only be the dispersion of pauperism and the transplanting of paupers from one locality to greater misery in another. Just in proportion as land is bad, more capital must be expended on it to make it productive, and a smaller return must be the necessary consequence. An expenditure on waste lands might be applicable to a country in which redundant agricultural capital was seeking a vent, and therefore expecting but little return, but would be totally inapplicable to a country like Ireland, in which the difficulty is the deficiency of it, and the necessity for its immediate return to meet the ordinary demands, and still more so, when the poor-rate demands would always be in advance of the expected return. It would not be easy to persuade a reflecting Irishman, in the present day, that a herd of paupers, located without capital on his mountain side, would be more profitable to him than a flock of sheep, or that it could conduce to the well-being of society or to the happiness of the settlers themselves. In practice, such settlements have universally failed; and much of the poverty of mountain districts has been caused by the pressure of population in the lowlands forcing these settlements in the highlands. Whatever temporary success they may have had has been based on the potato; and its failure and free trade in corn, which must force much of the poorer soils into grass, is not like to add to their future success.

5387. What has been the result of the Irish Waste Land Society?—In the report of their last meeting, presided over by J. Heatheote, esq., M.P., it was stated that 31,000 l. had been the amount of receipts; that 4,676 out of 7,115 shares had been forfeited; that the present assets of the society were calculated at only 14,000 l.; and that the directors agreed in opinion, that inasmuch as the society had been in existence for 15 years, and no dividend had ever been declared, it was expedient to put an end to the concern. And thus English capital and English management have failed to accomplish the reclamation of waste land, although it was proved that no reckless expenditure had been incurred, and that the greatest economy had been practised in carrying out the objects of the society.

5388. You are acquainted with the practice of the equity courts in Ireland as to the sale of estates, and have purchased a property under the courts; will you detail to the Committee the difficulties you have been exposed to by doing so?—Yes, I purchased an estate in the Kilrush Union, in the County Clare, under the Court of Exchequer; and the following are the particulars and the hardships I have been exposed to in doing so. The late Colonel M'Mahon, of Cloonina, in the County Clare, died, leaving some debts and family charges upon his estates. A bill was filed in the Court of Exchequer to raise these charges, and a receiver was appointed over the estate in 1815. The estate was sold, under a decree of the court, in 1838 or 1839 (after most tedious proceedings and great costs), to Mr. Hardy, of the County Cork. On an examination into the title, it was discovered that there was a technical defect in it, and Mr. Hardy was freed from the purchase. In June 1843 it was again sold, under an amended decree, to obviate

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this defect; and as I was led to believe, from the previous proceedings, that no delay or difficulty could arise with regard to the title, and that, from the previous investigation and amended decree, I should in a short time be put into possession of it, I became the purchaser, and had, according to the invariable practice of the courts, to lodge my money in the court, without the possibility of knowing anything about the title except the scanty and garbled particulars contained in a printed rental and the conditions of sale, cunningly drawn up by able counsel to gloss over the difficulties of the title and to bind the purchaser. From that day to this, within a month of six years, I have not been put into possession of it, and do not think I shall be for two years more. These delays have resulted from the nature of the proceedings under the courts, and from the deceptions in the rental and the conditions of sale. No abstract of the title could be procured until after the purchase-money was lodged in court, and until many months after the sale; and even then it was produced in so imperfect a shape as to involve me in considerable expense and difficulty. On a further examination into the title it was discovered that the property, which was represented to contain about 9,000 statute acres, did not contain within 1,200 acres of the quantity stated in the rental; that property represented as *fee simple* was leasehold, with a power of re-entry and reservation of the royalties; that leases stated in the rental to have been made for ever, at insufficient rents, and directly contrary to powers, were made with full powers, and were binding and valid; that several reversionary leases, also stated to have been made contrary to powers, were equally binding and valid; and subsequently in 1848, it was discovered that several other reversionary leases not set out in the rental were in existence, and valid, and on one of which the receiver has continued up to this time to receive the original rent reserved under the old lease and reversionary lease, instead of the additional and improved profit rent of 30*l.* per annum, stated in the rental to have accrued by the fall of the lease before I purchased. Upon these objections to the title, after expensive proceedings and long arguments, the Remembrancer decided in my favour, and reported to the Barons of the Exchequer that I should be free from the purchase. The vendors objected to this decision of the Remembrancer, and at the end of nearly five years from the date of the purchase, the decision of the Remembrancer was reversed, and I was held to be bound by the purchase. The Barons deciding that I did not object to the leasehold tenure and royalties at the proper moment (though I did so as soon as it was discovered); and with regard to the leases for ever and in reversion, it was decided that I had no right to speculate on the truth of the statements set forth in the rentals by the vendors, who were in possession of the title deeds, though I could have no possible access to them to ascertain their untruth; and with regard to the reversionary leases, not set out in the rental, and to the deficiency of 1,200 acres, they decided that I was entitled to compensation, but not to be freed from the purchase, although the large area of the property, and the lapse of the leases enabling me to improve the estate, were the main inducements to the purchase. Under this decision we are now engaged in the truly Irish process of obtaining an accurate valuation of 1,200 acres which do not exist, and in endeavouring to obtain secondary evidence of the existence of the reversionary leases, which I cannot force the production of without equity suits in each case, and which it is the interest of the vendors and tenants to withhold until my opportunity for obtaining redress is past. Against this decision I was advised to appeal to the House of Lords by eminent counsel, but was deterred from doing so by the fearful costs already incurred. The result of these proceedings has been that for the last six years I have neither received the interest of the purchase-money nor the rents of the estate. I have had no one to protect it from ruin and taxation during the recent years of famine, or to aid the people (as I did in Donegal) except the receiver, who is not employed by me, and looks alone to the receipt of rents; and the consequence has been that all the evicted paupers of adjoining estates have crowded into it, while I have had no power to exercise the slightest control over the property, and the vendors are in no way interested in the welfare of the estate, as I am bound by the purchase. The widow of Colonel M'Mahon became the inheritor of the estate on the death of her youngest son, and she died lately of a broken heart, and without the common necessities of life, though the original charges in 1813 were comparatively small in amount. On her death, long since I purchased, fresh proceedings had to be taken, new Bills

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30 April 1850.

J. F. Stewart, Esq.

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filled, new decrees pronounced, and now we have to discover her heir in America. That such a system must prove ruinous to all parties is evident. The vendors, the purchasers, the mortgagees, and the tenants are equally injured by it. The vendors by deterring purchasers, as I know it has done; the purchasers by the certain ruin of their future estates, and by inability to live for six or eight years without any income; the mortgagees by the expenditure in law costs of that which is their security, often leaving a sum insufficient to meet their claims; and to the tenants by having no one to look to their interest, or to promote improvement, but a receiver in no way interested in their prosperity. In this case the capital I had intended to expend in the improvement of the property will all be spent in law costs, in a fruitless attempt to obtain that which the vendors professed to sell me, and in the maintenance of my family in the interim while my income is locked up in the court. This is not an uncommon case; two friends of my own, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hamilton, purchased two estates on the same day I did under the courts; Mr. Chambers at the end of four years was forced to take what his counsel pronounced was not the title under which he bought; and Mr. Hamilton, at the end of six years, has, I believe, been freed from his, after most expensive proceedings, during which, I believe, the tenants have paid no rents, and have by their lawless proceedings in the union of Glenties, seriously involved the general peace and order of that portion of Donegal in which it is situated. To an unprofessional mind, a simple cure for some of these evils would be to force the vendors to prove their title to the court before the sale, when all parties would know what was sold and bought; and to invalidate all reversionary leases unless registered in the courts at the time of execution.

5389. The circumstances you have now detailed must also inflict great injustice upon adjoining proprietors in the same electoral division?—The mismanagement of these estates, under the courts, is a serious evil, and under the present system of electoral divisions they inflict the greatest possible injustice on other proprietors situated in the same electoral division with them. They become, from subdivision, mismanagement, and pauperism, plague spots, to diffuse disorganization in their neighbourhoods; the tenants become demoralized, and the purchaser probably is ruined or assassinated, in a vain attempt to restore order and assert his rights. The accumulation of arrears on them is very great. On 678 properties under the control of the Court of Chancery alone, these arrears had accumulated from 39,358 £, at the time the receivers were appointed, to 347,226 £. in 1841. What they are in 1849 it would be difficult to guess.

James Martin, Esq., called in, and Examined.

J. Martin, Esq.

5390. *Chairman.*] IN what part of Ireland do you reside?—I reside in the county of Galway.

5391. In what union?—In the union of Galway.

5392. Have you taken an active part in the administration of the poor law?—As active as gentlemen of my station have generally taken.

5393. Are you an ex-officio guardian?—Yes; I was an elected guardian originally; since the change of the law I have been an ex-officio guardian.

5394. Have you been in the habit of constantly attending the Board of Guardians?—I have, when at home.

5395. For how long a period?—Since the introduction of the poor law, up to the present time.

5396. *Mr. Bright.*] Are you a landed proprietor?—Yes.

5397. *Chairman.*] In the union of Galway?—Yes.

5398. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] You are a trustee also of the Connemara Estates?—Yes.

5399. You have been examined before the Committee of the House of Lords?—Yes.

5400. *Chairman.*] Are you in favour of the principle of the poor law?—I am very favourable to the principle of the poor law as administered up to the period when the famine came upon us. I think it worked extremely well, and was a very useful law.

5401. Do you mean that you were in favour of restricting relief to the workhouse?—I am certainly in favour of restricting the relief to the workhouse, and totally opposed to the whole system of out-door relief.

5402. Will you state the particular points in which you have found the system

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of the extended poor law defective in your union?—I think the effect of the extension has been to induce the whole of the able-bodied poor to throw themselves upon the rates.

5403. But have not the guardians, by applying the workhouse test, or by giving labour of a repulsive kind, the means of testing the existence of destitution among the mass who throw themselves upon the rates?—If they had the power of extending the workhouse test to the whole requirements of the union, perhaps the Amendment Bill would not have operated in the way I have described; but they not having that power, the workhouse not being capacious enough to accomplish the purpose of a test, the necessity of bringing the Bill at once into operation arose, and the effect was to throw the whole of the able-bodied poor upon the rates practically.

5404. Was the workhouse test extended by means of additional buildings to the workhouse being taken?—Not till the last twelve months.

5405. Was no test applied to the applicants for relief out of the workhouse?—There is a test applied. They are employed in breaking stones and making roads; but the fact is that it is an inhuman test practically, because the work is generally carried on at such distances from the poor people's homes that the day is spent in walking to and fro, and the fatigue of their walking to and fro, and their exposure to the cold, produces exhaustion, which makes the most trivial disease fatal, and has led to fearful mortality.

5406. Mr. Bright.] Does not that show that walking backwards and forwards, and the exposure to the cold, of itself becomes a test?—No, it is not a test, because it is an absolute necessity for the poor people to turn to that work or die at once. It is practically no test at all, because a man would perish in three days if he did not obtain relief on the terms on which the relieving officer will give it, and those terms are such as in many cases lead to his certain death in a short time.

5407. Chairman.] What was the amount of poor-rate actually paid in any electoral division with which you are yourself conversant?—I am not prepared to state the exact amount in the electoral divisions, but I know that the last rate struck on the whole union was a 3s. rate, and I think upon that rate there has been 2s. 6d. collected.

5408. Sir J. Pakington.] Was that for the whole year?—No, for the half year.

5409. How much in the year was it?—I have paid, myself, 6s. in the pound in ten months.

5410. Mr. P. Scrope.] There has been a sum added by the Government, in order to supply the deficiency, to more than twice that amount?—Yes.

5411. Chairman.] What have you yourself paid in any one year?—I have paid in the last ten months 6s. in the pound.

5412. Is that what you have paid as a landed proprietor, or what you and your tenants have paid between you?—In all cases where I had to receive rent, which I regret to say are very few cases indeed, I of course had to make that allowance, because the tenant who was able to pay the rent is also able to pay the poor-rate, and has been made to pay it.

5413. Do you mean that that was a 12s. rate, of which the landlord's proportion, which you allowed, was 6s.?—No, I do not mean that; I mean that in the case of land which I held myself, of which I was the actual occupier, I paid 6s. in the 10 months. In the case of the rest of the land, I paid half the rate.

5414. How many months' expenditure of the particular electoral division on whose account that 6s. was paid did the 6s. cover?—Our union has been in the hands of vice-guardians, and of course the general Board of Guardians have ceased to have that knowledge of the administration of its funds which they had previous to the appointment of the vice-guardians, with whom it altogether rests, and has rested since their appointment, two years ago.

5415. Do you mean that there have been no half-yearly accounts of the expenditure printed and published during those two years?—No, I do not; the accounts have been printed and published.

5416. But you have not examined them?—No.

5417. Sir J. Pakington.] Do you know how long a period the 6s. rate covers?—I know that there was a statement made when the rate was struck by the vice-guardian, Mr. Lucas; he made a statement that the rate struck was calculated to carry us to the 25th of March, and to provide a certain fund for the liquidation of outstanding claims against the union.

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5418. When

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5418. When was it struck?—On the 29th of October.

5419. Do you mean the 6*s.* rate?—No, the 3*s.* rate; the one previously laid was struck on the 10th of November before, but the collection was not made speedily in the first instance; it did not commence till the month of January, so that we paid in the course of ten months 6*s.* in the pound.

5420. Did the 6*s.* cover the expenditure of about 15 months?—No, not a year.

5421. *Mr. O'Flaherty.* You do not mean to say that it covered the expenditure of the year?—No.

5422. I understood you to say, in answer to the Chairman, that you saw printed accounts published by the vice-guardians; are you sure that they were published?—I saw some publication of them in the newspapers.

5423. Did you see a regular publication, according to the old form of the Board of Guardians?—No.

5424. How long have the vice-guardians been in office?—About 18 months or two years.

5425. *Chairman.* Do you know what was the probable expenditure for the electoral division in which you reside, for the year?—Yes, I have an account of it with me; I did not expect that my attention would be called to this matter, which I presumed was in the Returns before The House; but in the electoral division in which I reside, the in-door relief for the year 1848 cost 601*l.*, and the out-door relief cost 4,455*l.*; the valuation of the whole being 6,468*l.*

5426. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* Do you think it desirable that a maximum should be fixed by law for the expenditure of the electoral divisions?—Certainly.

5427. Have you considered what amount of maximum should be fixed?—I have; I have given that matter some attention. It is rather a remarkable fact, that previously to the idea of a maximum being broached by the head of the Government, I had commenced dealing with my own people on the principle of it, in order to obtain tenants for the holdings, which had become unoccupied to a great extent on my own estate. I then came to an agreement with them to limit the maximum to the same sum that has been broached by Lord John Russell.

5428. What sum was that?—Five shillings; I undertook to pay all the rate that was over and above that. But that being about to be provided for by law, of course the agreement has fallen to the ground. I did it to induce occupancy of those holdings, because I found it impossible to obtain it in any other way.

5429. *Sir W. Somerville.* Did you succeed?—Yes; they were willing to take the holdings upon those terms.

5430. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* Do you think that that is a proper amount for the country generally, or only a proper amount for Connought?—I think myself Connought is less able to bear a heavy amount of taxation than the rest of Ireland. It may be a question whether that country can bear 5*s.*, but I think it can. I do not think it is excessive if it is limited to that.

5431. Your doubt with respect to a maximum of 5*s.* for Connought is whether it is not too high?—Yes.

5432. Your opinion is clear as to the question of its not being too low?—It certainly is not too low. The declaration of a maximum I consider one of the most important things for that district; property will never change hands, it will never find a purchaser, nor will the worst land be ever brought into a productive state, or be occupied at all, unless the amount of liability that the tenant or purchaser is about to incur is accurately known and clearly defined.

5433. Supposing a maximum of 5*s.* were fixed by law to the expenditure of the electoral division within the year, what would you do in case the expenditure of an electoral division exceeded that amount?—Of course that is coming to the question of extraneous aid.

5434. Supposing extraneous aid is to be obtained, would you obtain it by means of a union rate, that is to say, a rate levied upon all the electoral divisions in the union, or would you go to some national or imperial fund?—That is asking my opinion upon the policy of the general question submitted to Parliament, of a union rating, or a rate in aid.

5435. Which would you have?—That question being submitted to the House of Commons already, my opinion is worth very little upon it.

5436. Do you entertain a strong objection to the principle of a union rate in aid after the maximum has been reached in the electoral divisions?—No; if Ireland is to be divided into unions, I think it must mean that it must be done so

for

for the purpose of throwing upon each particular union the amount of pauperism in it. Therefore I think the union rating is not an unreasonable conclusion to arrive at previously to having recourse to distant parts of the country to assist in the operation.

5437. Do not you see that there is great reason for levying a rate in aid upon the vicinage before you apply to the entire kingdom?—I do not; I think there is as much justice in asking the county of Antrim to assist as there is in asking the adjoining parish to assist, because the circumstances may be as different in the adjoining parish as in the county of Antrim.

5438. Supposing there is no equity in going to the vicinage, is there not this reason, that the Board of Guardians has the management of the entire union, and that they have the power of preventing any electoral division from obtaining assistance from other electoral divisions in an improper manner?—Yes, I think that is the case.

5439. Is not this argument used against a union rate, that a single electoral division would obtain assistance either improperly or fraudulently from the other electoral divisions?—Yes, I have heard that urged; but I do not think, under proper inspection, that evil could ever arise.

5440. Even supposing the inspection were negligent, would not the Board of Guardians have the power of protecting the interests of the other electoral divisions, inasmuch as they would, as a Board, regulate the expenditure of the particular electoral division in question?—Certainly; but the expenditure of that electoral division must be regulated by its requirements; and consequently, if its requirements became heavy, the Board of Guardians must provide for them by a rate on the union, if the expenses of that electoral division exceeded the maximum.

5441. If the *land rate* expenses of that particular electoral division exceeded 5s. in the pound, then the guardians would provide for the excess by a union rate?—Yes; that, I believe, is the intention.

5442. But, in case the *land rate* expenditure did not exceed that amount, would not the guardians have the power of preventing the maximum being exceeded for dishonest purposes?—Yes; of course they would have the control of the expenditure.

5443. *Chairman.* Do you mean that the requirements of an electoral division must rather be determined by the management of the proprietors resident in the division than by the mode in which the new poor law is put into operation?—I think the mode of management would have a material effect upon the amount of destitution; and, in fact, it all depends upon the application of a proper mode of management whether you have a heavy rate or a light one. Under the present law, it will be extremely difficult to keep down the rating; but under a proper application of the law, and a proper mode of employing the people, in all probability a rate for the able-bodied poor would never be required in the district in which I live.

5444. In that case if the expenditure depends mainly upon the management of the poor law, the Board of Guardians would have the power of checking the expenditure of any electoral division?—No, it does not rest with the Board of Guardians; they must supply funds for the destitution of the electoral division; but the proprietors of the electoral division might keep down the amount of destitution in it by employment, if the law, as applied to the electoral division, was such as would encourage the proprietors to make that effort; but it is not the case now, and consequently the rates are daily increasing.

5445. *Mr. O'Flaherty.* When you speak of a maximum rate, do you mean as a maximum rate the absolute sum paid, or an ideal maximum rate where the sum had not been paid?—I would have a declaration of the amount to which the land should be liable for the rate for the poor.

5446. You would not require the maximum rate to be paid before you had recourse to a union rate, but you would require every exertion to be made in order to collect that maximum rate?—Just so.

5447. *Sir W. Somerville.* In what electoral division do you reside?—I reside in the electoral division of Killanin.

5448. What was the agreement you made in order to induce farmers to take land; was it that when they had absolutely paid 5s. in the pound, you would furnish the surplus, supposing the rate struck to have been above 5s.?—It was to this effect: "Under the law of course I am compelled to divide the poor-rate with

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with you, the tenant. I will abide by that as long as the poor-rate does not exceed 5 s. in the pound; if it exceeds 5 s., instead of allowing only one-half, I will take the whole of the rate beyond that upon myself."

5449. Mr. O'Flaherty.] Supposing the rate to be 7 s. 6 d. in the pound, you paid 5 s.?—Yes.

5450. Chairman.] In the last year I observe that the rate in Killanin was 16 s. in the pound; would you pay the 11 s., the excess beyond the 5 s.?—Supposing that was the rate levied, that was what I intended.

5451. Mr. Bright.] If one of your tenants came to you to pay his rent, and he wished to charge you with the surplus, you would require him to show that he had paid half-a-crown in the pound, and then anything beyond that, that was required, you would pay?—Yes.

5452. Supposing that though 5 s. in the pound had been the rate struck by the guardians, not more than 3 s. in the pound had been collected from the particular land which this tenant cultivated, would you pay that surplus till he could show that he had paid his proportion of the 5 s. in the pound?—The way the tax is collected is this: the collector comes, and he will receive the whole tax or nothing, and the landlord by law would be compelled to allow his tenant one-half of the amount he has paid; but feeling that the tax of 5 s. in the pound was the maximum limit to which the tenant could fairly be asked to contribute at the moment, I said, "If the tax exceeds that, I will take the rest of it upon myself altogether."

5453. That is to say, if the tenant's actual payment amounts to 5 s. in the pound, you take your legal share of that, and you take upon yourself all the surplus beyond the 5 s. in the pound?—Yes.

5454. Is that what you would, from your experience, be prepared to recommend as the principle of a maximum rate?—No, I am not prepared to recommend making the proprietor liable, legally, for the surplus; but I would recommend that a maximum should be fixed, say of 5 s., and that some course similar to that which has been recommended by the head of Her Majesty's Government, should be adopted with regard to the surplus.

5455. What I intended to ask was this, whether you would recommend that no extraneous aid should be given until somebody, the tenant or the landlord, had actually paid the rate of 5 s. upon any given property?—In a normal condition of the country I would recommend that.

5456. To what extent have you carried out that arrangement with your tenants? I have not carried it out, because the moment we found that Government were about to adopt a similar plan, the tenants were willing to enter into occupation, and we have set all the land since; but I had concluded that agreement with them previously to the declaration of Lord John Russell upon the subject.

5457. Is it your opinion that under that arrangement which you proposed to make you could readily have found occupants for your land?—Yes, I experienced that.

5458. Does that refer to land already cultivated, or land that has not hitherto been cultivated?—It refers to land that has been hitherto cultivated. That land which has not been cultivated is of very little value till capital is applied to it with a view to make it productive.

5459. Supposing Government had proposed, after 5 s. in the pound had been paid, according to the present law, by the landlord and tenant, that any surplus should come upon the landlord, do not you think that in very large portions of the country that might be carried into effect with very beneficial results?—No, I think not; I think the whole system is wrong with regard to the mode of payment of that tax. I think there is no sound policy at all in dealing with Ireland in a different way from that in which England has been dealt with. Why not levy the rate upon the immediate occupiers throughout Ireland, as they do in England? I never could understand why a distinction was drawn between Ireland and England upon that point.

5460. Sir W. Somerville.] Was there much resistance to the payment of the rate in the Galway Union?—There was no resistance; there was an endeavour to evade payment, by making off with cattle and produce.

5461. Was there any resistance to the payment of the rate on the part of the proprietors?—None that I heard of.

5462. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Do you think it would be possible to collect the rate from

from the smallest class of occupiers?—There would have been no difficulty previously to the country becoming what it now is.

5463. Was it found that the rate was easily collected from the smallest class of occupiers prior to the potato failure?—Decidedly; the rate was not at all oppressive.

5464. Do you think the rate could have been collected since the failure of the potato crop?—No, our rates have been increased in the precise ratio of our inability to pay them, consequently the difficulty of collecting them is daily increasing.

5465. Do you think it would have been possible, since the failure of the potato crop, to collect the poor rate from the smallest class of occupiers?—No, I think not; in fact, the smallest class of occupiers have been swept away.

5466. Under those circumstances, would you have excused the smallest class of occupiers, or have rated the landlords?—I am not prepared to answer that question, because the inability of the landlord to pay the rates will increase with the failure of his resources. What is true of the man who holds three acres, will be true of the man who holds 3,000 acres.

5467. Do not you think that the exemption of the smallest class of occupiers from the rate would afford an inducement to a subdivision of the land?—It must have that operation, because it is a premium to subdivision; to bringing the land into such small divisions of it as will exempt it from taxation.

5468. At present the owner and not the occupier of small tenements is rated?—Yes.

5469. As long as the owner is rated, he has no interest in subdividing the land?—No, but he has a contrary interest; he has an interest in clearing lands, and that is one of the principal causes of hundreds being thrown upon the rates, and the landlord is compelled to do it or abandon his own position as a gentleman, because it is as much as he can do to live; he cannot pay those excessive rates that are thrown upon him so suddenly.

5470. *Chairman.*] Do you mean that those small tenants are unable to pay the rents?—Certainly; and in my own country they have all disappeared.

5471. Have 60 per cent. of the rents been paid in your district?—No, nor 20 per cent.

5472. That is of the small ones?—Great and small.

5473. Do you mean that in the part of the country with which you are personally acquainted, not more than 20 per cent. of the rents have been paid?—Certainly not.

5474. Does that apply to more than one year?—I speak of the last two years. I speak of my own individual case.

5475. Then the landlords, as well as the farmers, are entirely paralyzed?—Yes, the whole of those who are altogether dependent upon incomes derived from land.

5476. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Considering that state of things, it would have been of little use putting the whole rate upon the occupier who is unable to pay his rent, or half his rent; you could not have collected the rates from him, if you could not collect the rents?—No, of course you could not.

5477. Considering that the poor law was a new law, and that the imposition of a rate for such a purpose was before unknown in Ireland, do not you think it would have been a hardship to tenants holding under lease if the poor rate had been put upon them, and they had not been allowed to charge any part of it upon the landlord?—I think it would; but I would have made all occupiers primarily liable, whatever rule you might apply as regards allowance for that payment afterwards.

5478. Tenants are primarily liable at present for tenements above 4 l.?—Yes.

5479. In that class of cases where the rent has been contracted for under a lease, on the assumption of there being no poor rate, if there had been a heavy poor rate it would have been a great hardship upon the leaseholder that he should be exclusively charged with the entire poor rate, and his landlord completely free from it?—No doubt that is true.

5480. And in the case of tenants at will who had entered into a bargain to pay a certain fixed rent, on the assumption of no poor rate being paid, it would have been extremely hard upon them, and they would suffer very much before a new arrangement could be made with their landlords, if they were to be subject to the whole of the poor rate?—Unquestionably they would suffer. All that is quite true with respect to tenancies that were in existence before the passing of the

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law; but I think that to tenancies that were intended to commence subsequently to the passing of the law, the English principle should have been applied.

5481. Is there not a large proportion of the population of the unions of Galway and Clifden upon the rates at present?—A very large proportion.

5482. Can you state the proportion of the population that is charged upon the rates?—I should say two-thirds fully.

5483. Does a very large proportion of that population consist of able-bodied and their families?—Yes, a very large proportion.

5484. You have written a tract upon the state of the western unions, in which you express this opinion: "I state it as my firm conviction, that unless able-bodied pauperism is rendered self-sustaining, the population must perish, or the whole wealth of the kingdom be speedily absorbed in the vain attempt to support, by external propping, a system which contains within itself such active elements of decay and destruction."—Yes.

5485. You are acquainted with the natural capabilities of the district in which you live?—Perfectly.

5486. Does that present large opportunities for the employment of a portion of the seemingly superabundant population, if capital, and skill, and enterprise were brought to bear upon it?—Certainly, an incalculable amount of labour might be applied in that country with advantage.

5487. Have you had any practical experience from which you could show that large tracts of waste land in that district might be improved?—Yes; I have an account of a small effort of the sort, and I think that is the most satisfactory way to show it. Without going into that, I can mention that four plantation acres of bog land belonging to a neighbour of mine, a very bad, wet, black bog, and with very little fall, were undertaken as an experiment; it was commenced in the year 1845; four plantation acres will be about six statute acres; and the expenditure upon those, according to this account in my hand, amounts to a trifle under 50*l*. That includes the expense of draining to prepare it and getting in the first crop, which was potatoes; and I know myself that the return of the first crop even was within 4*l*. of the original outlay. Now I consider that that was a very fair experiment, because it was the very worst piece of bog land I know in the district; it had less fall, and I suppose the depth of it was from eight feet to ten feet of black bog, which was spread all over it almost.

5488. Are there any large tracts of that description of land in your neighbourhood which might in your opinion be redeemed with equal profit?—An immense district, and if judiciously undertaken the profit of doing it amounts to a certainty.

5489. Are there not two modes in which it is possible that that might be undertaken: the one by employing the able-bodied population, at present a burden to you, by the Government or by the Boards of Guardians, the authorities on the part of the public; and the other by private parties employing the able-bodied pauper population: have you ever considered the proposal of making the labour of the able-bodied paupers, now a burden upon the unions, available for carrying on improvements of that description?—I have no doubt that it might be done, and I have always considered it an essential thing that we should be allowed to redeem our rate by the employment of able-bodied paupers; and now I should wish just to explain myself upon that subject, because I know very well that the whole body of political economists will fall upon me immediately for saying so; if the condition of the country were a normal one I would be inclined to concur in the objections that they would raise to the adoption of my views, but the condition of Ireland is exceptional, and, in my opinion, it requires an exceptional mode of treatment. I consider food is its first great requirement; I consider that to obtain food is the primary object at present necessary in Ireland. I consider that food cannot be obtained except by the application of labour, and I therefore regard it as both impolitic and inhuman to apply the labour that we have at our disposal in a way that is both demoralizing and ridiculous, instead of applying it to raising that produce which will prevent our any longer becoming a burden upon this country, and seeking the extraneous aid which we cannot at present do without. Now I know perfectly well that every political economist in the country, and all official people, will be opposed to that view; the political economists will, every one of them, creep out of his hole and have a fling at me for making this suggestion.

5490. The objections that might be urged to such a proposal would, in your opinion,

opinion, apply to an ordinary state of things rather than to the exceptional state of things which exists now in Ireland?—Precisely.

5491. At present the Board of Guardians of one of the largest of the unions in England, namely, the Sheffield Union, is adopting this course at this moment; they are employing the able-bodied poor upon a tract of land which they have rented for a very long term of years at a low rent, and they have built a sort of supplemental workhouse upon that tract of waste land, and they are employing their paupers, hitherto successfully, in the reclamation of those 50 acres of land, that being the limit to which the Boards of Guardians can extend their farms under the present law. They propose, when that land is brought into a good state of cultivation, after a preliminary reclamation, to sell it, and to take another 50 acres adjoining, and so to go on taking in all the waste land round the supplemental workhouse as long as there is a necessity for employing the poor, and they find the experiment successful. Do you think that the adoption of such an experiment as that might be of great service in such a union as yours, where you have a large number of able-bodied paupers who are a burden upon you, and a great quantity of waste land producing nothing?—I think the employment of the able-bodied paupers in that way would be highly desirable; and I am clearly of opinion that if it had been in my power to redeem the rate in my own electoral division by employing the able-bodied paupers in the production of corn and other useful works in the district, not one shilling would ever have been required in my own electoral division for the support of able-bodied paupers out of the workhouse since the commencement of the failure of the potato. During the course of last night and this morning I have had an opportunity of consulting several gentlemen from my own country, and I put that question to them, "If you had had an opportunity of redeeming the rate by employing the able-bodied paupers during the period of this famine, what would have been the amount of rate to which you or your electoral division would have been liable for the support of that portion of the population which were able-bodied?" and they have all agreed in expressing this opinion, that if they had had that power, they would not have been chargeable for one shilling for the support of any able-bodied paupers in their electoral division on out-door relief.

5492. *Chairman.* Do you mean that, supposing a proprietor had employed all the paupers on his own estate, he was to be exempt from the rate levied in support of the paupers on other estates?—No, I do not mean that. But in order to carry out my principle, there ought to be two rates levied in each electoral division; the first rate for the general union purposes of the house, and to support the absolutely impotent, those who would not come under the class of able-bodied. Then I think there should be in each electoral division an accurate list prepared of those who would come under the class of able-bodied. I would give to some Government officer, the inspector perhaps of the union, the power of investigating that list, and either adding to it or diminishing it according as he might see fit necessary to take either step; and having done that, I would strike a rate for the support of that able-bodied pauperism; but I would apportion that able-bodied pauperism on the various townlands constituting the electoral division, in a ratio proportionate to each townland's liability to the poor rate; and I would then allow the proprietors or occupiers of each of those townlands to redeem that rate by the employment of a certain number of those able-bodied for which they were assessed.

5493. *Mr. P. Scrope.* Would you greatly prefer that mode of individualizing, to a certain extent, the burden and responsibility of pauperism, to any proposition for reducing the areas of taxation to estates or townlands, by which townlands or estates would only be chargeable for the resident poor upon them, and not for their fair share of the pauperism of the district?—I am certainly opposed to an estate division; in the first place, I think there are insurmountable difficulties in dealing with electoral divisions framed upon that principle; but I am favourable to such a reduction of electoral divisions as will give landowners a full and complete power of inspection, and will enable all parties to see at a glance their liability, and thus give them a direct interest in keeping down that liability.

5494. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* Do you think that the present electoral divisions in the county of Galway are too large?—They are ridiculously large. The Oughterard electoral division contains 98,000 acres, and the electoral division in which I live contains 67,000 acres.

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5495. Mr. Bright.] How far will that spread over the country?—About 25 miles, from Lough Corrib to the sea.

5496. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] To what extent would you reduce those electoral divisions?—In my electoral division there is a mountain range which divides it into two parts; one part fronting the sea, and the other fronting the lake; the natural division is along the top of the mountain, following the flow of the water in fact. Now I am placed in an electoral division, one end of which is 25 miles from the other; the consequence is, we have no interest whatever in common, and we have no power at one end of the electoral division of inspecting what is going on at the other end of it; and I can give no more decided proof of that than the fact, that while I have continued to pay the poor rate steadily up to the present time, there is an arrears of five years due at the other end; and I never knew till the collector told me very recently that that was the case.

5497. Sir W. Somerville.] How far are you from the workhouse?—About 10 miles.

5498. Mr. Bright.] What is the population of your electoral division?—The population of the electoral division, which consists of 98,497 acres, by the census of 1841, was 10,601.

5499. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Do you think the population has increased or decreased since 1841?—The population went on increasing at the usual rate up to 1845; since that time it has fearfully diminished.

5500. Sir W. Somerville.] What is the furthest point of the Galway Union from the workhouse?—In English statute miles, it is very nearly 40 miles.

5501. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Have there been many evictions of tenantry in your electoral division?—There have been some, but, in point of fact, there was little occasion for it. The evictions went on a great deal faster than we wished.

5502. Did the people leave the houses voluntarily?—Yes, the houses were abandoned.

5503. What did the landlords do with the houses which the people voluntarily abandoned?—We levelled some, of course; some were left standing.

5504. Is it the general practice to level a house when it is abandoned, or to leave it standing?—It is the general practice to level a house that is abandoned, because otherwise some beggar passing by effects an entrance into the house, and becomes a permanent charge upon you, and if you want to get rid of him you are put to the expense of 15*l.* or 14*l.*, and you have to encounter all the obloquy the newspapers can heap upon you as an inhuman evictor of the poor, when you turn out a man who has perhaps stolen into a house through the window, and lighted a fire in it, and taken possession of it.

5505. Does not the poor law give the landlord an interest to watch the number of habitations upon his estate?—Yes; but the poor law came suddenly upon us as a tax from which we were wholly exempt previously. In England the poor rate has entered into every element; it forms part of every transaction between man and man; but in Ireland we were never accustomed to have a poor rate, and we never thought about it; doubtless we would have got into the habit of thinking about it, and making it an element in all our operations; but immediately upon the law being introduced the necessity for a sudden and enormous rise of the rate, owing to the famine, arose, and this has really embarrassed the whole working of the law in such a way that I fear it must be entirely remodelled.

5506. Was not that sudden change owing not to any inherent defect of the law, but to the unfortunate circumstance of the blight of potatoes?—Yes. I said, in the commencement of my examination, that I entirely approved of the poor law; as it stood originally, I think it was an excellent law both for the landlord and the tenant.

5507. Mr. Bright.] Is it your opinion now, that with a poor law precisely the same as the present poor law, if you had had no failure of the potato crop, there would not have been a general complaint against the law; that there might have been some particular parts of it that might want remedying, but generally speaking the law would have worked well throughout the country?—I am quite satisfied of that; it would have been a most useful law, and would have afforded a real test of destitution throughout the country, and an efficient support for such destitution.

5508. Is it your opinion that many complaints against the law are complaints arising from the peculiar circumstances of the country, and not from any radical defect

defect in the law itself?—Yes; I think there is a great weight thrown upon the poor law which it was never calculated to bear; the poverty of the country is so much greater than the amount of its property is able to bear, that the poor law has failed, as it must fail; it is manifestly incapable to supply funds for the subsistence of the people.

5509. Your opinion is that it has failed, as any law must have failed under the circumstances?—Yes; I think so.

5510. Mr. P. Scrope.] Supposing the principle you have recommended were adopted, of allowing you to relieve yourself from the support of the able-bodied by giving employment to your share of the population of the division, do you think you would be able so far to improve the property and the condition of the people you employed as to render them ultimately self-supporting?—I do not think it would be judicious, in any enactment enabling the proprietor to redeem his rate by employment, to extend it to a normal condition of the country. I am quite opposed to that, because I know it has a pernicious tendency, and I quite agree with the political economist in that view of the matter; but I think the only possible way to procure our first requirement, which is food, is to apply what in fact Providence intended should be applied to procuring food, namely, human labour in order to create it; and I think it is of all things the most absurd and ridiculous, and the most impolitic, to take the labour upon which the production of food depends, and to apply that labour in the absurd and ridiculous way in which it is at present applied.

5511. You have land capable of maintaining the people?—Yes.

5512. You have people whom you are obliged by law to maintain, but whom the law obliges you to maintain in useless labour or in perfect idleness?—That is my view of it; you are exhausting capital, for labour is capital, rightly understood; you are not applying that capital in a productive way, and generally you are exhausting the resources of the country by this misapplication of the only capital it possesses.

5513. You think that there are two ways in which the labour of that population now idle or uselessly employed, might be made available for their support; either by their employment as public labourers in the improvement of the country, or by stimulating their employment by private parties in the manner you have spoken of, making it the direct interest of the proprietor of each estate to redeem his poor-rates by giving his share of the population employment?—Yes; I would first satisfy the requirements of cultivation by the employment of labour, and then, if any surplus remained, I would apply that under some general principle to reproductive works of another class.

5514. You would, by making the employment of the able-bodied a means of redeeming the poor-rate, stimulate private employment, and if any surplus remained which was not taken up by private employers, you would require that to be employed in the improvement of land?—Certainly I would. I am most clearly convinced of the propriety of that, and after the most careful examination of the whole question, I am clearly satisfied of this, that in the western districts, unless you apply the labour that is at your command to the production of food in the first instance, you will never get them out of the difficulty they are in at the present moment. The political economists will say, "Pooh, pooh!" to it; and they will say, "it is nonsense;" but I say they do not know the real condition of the country, and that they are arguing upon that which they do not understand.

5515. Mr. Bright.] Would you recommend that to be done through the medium of the guardians, and that they should employ those able-bodied men in cultivating the land of private employers, or in cultivating other land which they might obtain for the purpose?—In any one district it would not be necessary for the guardians to give them any employment at all, because we want labour; we have not labour enough, and if there were a proper inducement held out to parties to employ them, they would all be employed. Before I came here, when I was summoned to attend this Committee, I called together the few farmers that were still solvent in my own district; I stated to them my view, and explained to them what I thought would be a judicious course in regard to redeeming the rates by employment. I asked them their opinion of it, and their reply was, "We have paid 6s. in the pound this year, make it 12s. as the whole rate; allow us to redeem it, and we are perfectly content. We will double our crops at once, by employing those men, and the industry of the whole district

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will be so stimulated that there will be no out-door relief required for the able-bodied; but now that relief is ruining us."

5516. *Chairman.* What was the inducement that they alluded to?—The inducement was allowing them to redeem the rates by employing the parties that they are now paying for.

5517. Do not they put any stress upon the inducement of the increased crops that the employment of labour will produce?—Of course they do; but whilst taxation is not defined and whilst there is no universal effort made over the whole electoral division, whilst one man may employ and another may not employ, they naturally feel that the amount of destitution will always remain much the same, and that consequently they will be just taxed as heavily as they ever were, next year and every subsequent year.

5518. Then it is the dread of undefined taxation that paralyzes them?—Yes.

5519. Would not that be met by a maximum?—As far as the poor rate is concerned, it might; but they have also a dread of a yearly increasing necessity, because, from the fact of the labour of the country being diverted to an unproductive course, the labour of the country being its capital, and the only capital it now possesses, the destitution among those labourers must yearly increase, and will not only amount to as great a sum as it has hitherto done, but must go on increasing exactly with the ratio of the decrease of that capital, and the decrease of labour.

5520. Is it your opinion that resources exist for the employment of the people in the district?—Certainly; I am of opinion that there are resources enough to be found by us, if we had an inducement held out to us to employ the people, but the fact is, there is no inducement at present; the man who makes no effort at all is no worse off than the man who struggles to do his duty; that is the great evil of the whole system.

5521. *Mr. P. Scrope.* Does it not operate as a discouragement to a man to exert himself to improve his property, by investing capital and by the employment of labour, if he finds that his neighbour, who does nothing of the kind, who is able and makes no use of his property, has the power of burdening him with the maintenance of the able-bodied poor whom he will not employ?—That is the great evil of it; and unless we can adopt some system by which there should be a direct encouragement to redeem the rates, or make the man on whose land the pauperism exists pay for it, we can never hope to get out of it; we can never hope to get the united efforts of the whole of the proprietors, upon which the whole success of the thing depends.

5522. Do you think that the principle you have recommended might be applied to townlands without applying it to the smaller divisions, viz. the farms within those townlands?—I think townlands are as low as you can well go.

5523. The townlands are coterminous with estates?—In my own country they are coterminous with farms.

5524. The owners of estates would in your opinion be able to make common cause with the tenants, so as to provide sufficient employment upon their estates on townlands to redeem their rates?—Yes.

5525. There would be no difficulty in the landlord coming to an arrangement with his tenants for that purpose?—I can only speak of my own district. There would be no difficulty in it; and instead of having the number of able-bodied that we have now breaking stones by the road side, or sending them three or four miles in the morning to the mountains, and their coming home the same distance at night, by which their physical condition is exhausted, we would have them all employed in improving the land and rendering it productive.

5526. *Mr. Bright.* What was the rate of wages in your district before the failure of the potato crop?—Before the failure of the potato crop we used to pay 6 d. and 8 d. a day without food.

5527. Were the people generally employed?—They were; their little potato grounds gave them a good deal of employment.

5528. *Sir W. Somerville.* After the potatoes were planted had they any employment?—That part of the country is not very populous, and there was a pretty good demand for labour.

5529. *Mr. P. Scrope.* Do you think that the proposal you have made would set to work all those able-bodied who are now upon the rates?—In my own district it would.

5530. Do you think that in addition to the advantage that would be derived by the proprietor from adopting your proposition, it would add to the resources and

and wealth of that district, and speedily put an end to the major part of the difficulties of working the poor law?—It would relieve the rates levied for the support of the able-bodied; that I am sure of, and it would provide the first element which is requisite, which is food. You may apply any law you please to the country, but you can do no good till you supply food for the purpose of feeding the people.

5531. If in that way you relieve the rates of the able-bodied, there would be very little difficulty in providing for the helpless poor?—Very little. I do not think the rate for the helpless poor would exceed 1s. in the pound.

5532. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Can you express any opinion as to the operation of the quarter-acre clause in your district?—I can; there is a good deal to be said upon the subject. The quarter-acre clause has been in point of fact evaded. The tenant went out of his house, and he went over the march to the adjoining ground; he left some person in the house to keep nominal possession of the house and the quarter of an acre of ground; he never made any surrender of his holding, and of course therefore the landlord was prevented from entering into possession of it. The Poor-law Commissioners having taken an opinion upon the point, arrived at the conclusion that such an abandonment of it was in point of fact a cessation of occupancy, and consequently they allowed the man to become a recipient of relief. The effect of that was, that the landlord could not enter into possession of the land; he could not crop it or cultivate it, and the consequence was that nobody cropped or cultivated it, and the land was thrown out of cultivation, and remains so at this moment.

5533. In order to evade the clause it was necessary for the occupant to desert his house?—Not the house, but the land, except the quarter acre.

5534. Sir W. Somerville.] Is it your opinion that the difficulty that the law now places in the way of the landlord obtaining a speedy possession of small tenements acts rather oppressively to the poor than as a protection to them; is there a great indisposition to allow them to take possession of vacant houses on account of the enormous difficulty of again getting possession of those houses?—No doubt there is a great difficulty in getting rid of anybody who gets into possession of a house, and there is a corresponding disinclination on the part of any proprietor to allow himself to be placed in that difficulty; but I do not think there is a great inclination to reduce the amount of the population at all, because in my part of the country I am satisfied we have not people enough if the capabilities of the country were fully developed.

5535. You stated that it was constantly the practice of landowners to demolish the houses, because if any stray beggar or other person got possession of them you could never get them out without great expense?—I did say so, and I think it is right of the landlord to do that; it is a very different thing from getting a good, proper, and industrious person into the house; you get some absconding thief from the neighbouring district; some sheep-stealer, or person of that description, gets into the house, and you have a difficulty in getting those bad characters out of the country afterwards; for those are the characters that are in the habit of taking possession of houses in that way; and therefore it is very desirable, if you can, to prevent those persons coming into the country. You do no evil to those poor persons who have gone to America, or have taken refuge in the workhouse with their families; in the event of their doing so, you must either take down the house or watch it.

5536. Chairmen.] You have no superabundance of poor population in that district?—No, I think not; if the population was spread over the country fully, I do not think we should have enough.

5537. Then you do not advocate emigration as a necessary remedy for that district?—No; if judicious improvements are undertaken we have scarcely hands enough.

5538. Mr. P. Serpe.] The district you speak of includes the Clifden Union and the Connemara estates?—Yes.

5539. In addition to the disadvantages arising to the proprietors from the present state of things, the poor have been suffering greatly?—Yes.

5540. Have large numbers of them died?—Yes.

5541. And you think that might have been prevented if the management of the land, and the operation of the poor law, had been put upon a good footing?—I am certain it might, in a great degree, have been prevented, if the system had been adopted by which such employment of the people had been encouraged.

5542. And

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5542. And it would have put an end to such a state of suffering as you have witnessed?—Yes.

5543. *Chairman.*] What is the character of the better class of farmers in your district?—We were making great progress previously to the famine, but now we are altogether in confusion.

5544. Had the rotation of crops got a footing in the district?—Yes, it was just beginning. We made wonderful progress in the five years previous to the famine.

5545. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] It is said that all improvement effected by legislation must be of slow operation, and that it must be a long time before it is brought about, so as to have the effect which is desired; do not you think the change you have suggested would have almost an instantaneous and magical effect in changing the position of the proprietors, who are interested in the soil as well as the labourers?—I am quite sure it would have this effect, in the first instance, that it would take the able-bodied paupers off the rate, and relieve the land from a large amount of taxation, and it would contribute to supply the first requisite for the country, which is food; and in that way it would operate to get rid of the exceptional condition of the country, and restore it to its former condition.

5546. It would begin to operate immediately upon the passing of the law?—Doubtless; and when the law came into operation, it would be my interest to give employment. I should have a return for the employment I gave, but at present I have no return for that employment in the money that I pay to the poor-rate collector.

5547. You think that that is the only mode in which an immediate stimulus to give employment can be brought to bear upon the proprietors?—I do. I think that the production of food is the first essential thing, and that till we have that, we can take no other step in the right direction.

5548. Do you think there would be any practical difficulty in working such a scheme?—I apprehend none in my district.

5549. It is said there would be great want of honesty in carrying out the arrangement; do you think means could be adopted to guard against that?—Yes; the system prevailed for a couple of hundred years in Scotland, and worked very satisfactorily.

5550. *Chairman.*] Was not the population of Scotland very thin?—Yes, and so is ours.

5551. In all parts of Ireland?—I do not think the population in all parts of Ireland is very thin, but I am sure that the population of Ireland is not too great for the country, if it were spread over the surface.

5552. Is not the complaint in most of the distressed unions that they are suffering from being over populated, or from having, as it is called, a congestion of population?—No; their complaint is, that the production of those districts does not bear a proper proportion to the population. In my own district the way that it operates is this: there are spots of good land here and there, and those spots have attracted a very large portion of the population, and they have become injuriously crowded upon those spots, consequently they have suffered all the inconvenience of over population, though in reality the country is not over populated at all; on the contrary, it is under populated, if we had it in the hands of persons who were determined to give full scope to its capabilities, and employ labour in doing so.

5553. Does your system contemplate inducing the people to leave the spots on which they are at present located, and settle on other lands?—Yes; and the effect of my system would be to accomplish that without any painful coercive measures towards those people; let employment be given over the face of the country generally, and we know that where the demand is the supply will follow; that is a mercantile truism; when a demand arose for the labour of those people they would naturally go in the direction of the demand, and the effect would be that they would all be spread over the face of the country exactly in the proportion of the demand, because at present the spots of ground where thousands of them have been located all together have ceased to present any attraction to them, from their ceasing to be productive of the crop upon which they formerly relied, viz. the potato; and they are now ready to give them up, and go elsewhere, in order to obtain for themselves the means of livelihood in return for their labour.

5554. Supposing the potato not to fail this harvest, will not their attachment to those spots revive?—That is very possible, but the people have learnt such a lesson

lesson as to the uncertainty of the potato crop that they will never be induced to rely upon it as they did before.

5555. But supposing the potato crop revives, would it not be a serious blow to your plan, inasmuch as it is necessary that the potato crop shall fail altogether before the attachment of the people to those spots of ground will cease?—No; that is accomplished already under the united effects of famine, disease, and destitution; wherever there was over crowding the people have disappeared.

5556. Are not the remainder of them at this moment planting potatoes to as great a breadth, and with as much reliance upon them as they ever were?—Certainly not.

5557. Not in your own district?—No, nor anywhere else; not to so great a breadth, for they have not the seed; they may be doing it in other parts of Ireland, but certainly not in our part of Ireland; they are planting as much as they can, but not to the extent that they formerly did.

5558. As far as they possibly can, are they not staking their hopes upon the potato?—No doubt they are to a certain extent, but they are preparing to plant other edibles also.

5559. Mr. P. Scrope.] Even if the potato should revive, the carrying out of your principle would bring into action a large amount of employment, and improve the condition of the district?—Certainly; I advocate the principle of the employment of the able-bodied poor in reproductive labour, because it will produce that food which we want, and as long as we want that food I would so employ the poor. Our case is exceptional, and therefore my plan is an exceptional plan; but as soon as we return to any condition that might be looked upon as a normal condition, I would deprecate the principle of a labour rate of any kind, because I think it is likely to be pernicious and impolitic.

5560. Chairman.] You think such a measure, in the ordinary state of society, would give an unwholesome stimulus?—Yes.

5561. Mr. P. Scrope.] Do you know that the same principle has been applied in England under extraordinary pressure in different parts of the country?—I do not know anything about that.

5562. Chairman.] What is your opinion of the present mode of framing the valuations for poor-law purposes?—I think the present mode of valuing for the poor law is extremely faulty; there is no basis to which the value is referred scheduled in the Act, such as there is in the Townland Valuation Act; that is the 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 84, and it is irrespective. Now in this very paper which I hold in my hand, the effect is to make every one doubt the accuracy of one or the other valuations, either the Ordnance valuation or the other. These three electoral divisions are valued by the Ordnance valuation; one is valued at 6,304 *l.*, another is valued at 6,404 *l.*, and another is valued at 5,415 *l.* Now the first of those is valued, according to the poor law, at 8,151 *l.*, the second at 6,468 *l.*; the valuation for the Ordnance survey and the poor law in that case come together very nearly; in the first case there is a difference of nearly 2,000 *l.*, and in the third case there is a difference of 1,000 *l.*, the poor-law valuation being 1,000 *l.* above the valuation of the Ordnance survey.

5563. Mr. P. Scrope.] Do you think that that difference is owing to different valuers being employed, and adopting different principles for their valuations?—Yes.

5564. Though the valuation might be fair as regards parties occupying in the same electoral division, it might be very unfair if a common rate, or a maximum rate, were spread over all the electoral divisions?—That is the evil of it. If this rate-in-aid is to be collected on such a principle as that, it will operate unjustly on certain districts.

5565. That is, whether it is a rate-in-aid over several electoral divisions in a union, or over several unions in the country?—Certainly.

5566. Chairman.] Does the valuation bear a fair proportion to the rent?—In our country the rent was about the same as the townland valuation; it was not much above it; and latterly it has fallen below it. I have been obliged to go below the townland valuation in order to get tenants. The great evil of it is in persisting in a valuation that was taken in the year 1844, and applying it to
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the year 1849, when the elements of value are totally altered. Now, under the Townland Valuation Act, there was scheduled at the end of the Act the bases on which the valuation was to be made, and those bases consisted of two different matters; one that is stationary, and exists always, such as propinquity to markets, and local advantages; the other being prices and produce. Now prices have fallen one-third, and produce fully one-half; therefore if I apply in 1849 the valuation made in 1844, which was taken upon the average of the five years preceding, the bases that were then taken would reduce the value one-half if adopted now; and if I pay 10 s. in the pound, as I do altogether, I really pay 20 s. on the *bona fide* value.

5567. When you say that there is only half the produce now grown, do you mean that the loss of the produce of the potato accounts for the whole difference?—I mean that the value of the production of the land is not equal to more than half what it was then.

5567.* Owing to what cause is that?—To the failure of the potato crop, and, in the last harvest, to the failure of the wheat crop.

5568. Mr. P. Scrope.] And the lowness of prices?—Yes, that is another element.

5569. Chairman.] Is it the fact that the prices obtained throughout the kingdom are lower than the tariff fixed by the Act?—Yes, they certainly are; I believe the price of corn grown in the last harvest is at least a third lower than the price that was obtained for the same corn grown in the harvest of 1845.

5570. But are the prices lower than the prices fixed by the tariff of the Act?—There were, I think, no prices fixed by the Act.

5571. There were prices fixed; 6 s. a cwt. for oats, and so on for various other articles?—I have seen those, but those were only a portion of the bases on which they were to rest the valuation.

5572. Mr. P. Scrope.] That variation in the value from year to year in properties rated would be of no consequence at all if it were an equal variation throughout the whole area of taxation?—No, it is no matter whether we are rated high or low, if we are rated in an equal ratio.

5573. Chairman.] You complain that the taxation is unequal?—I complain that it is unjust to apply the condition of Ireland in 1844 to the condition at the present moment, because the productive power of the land, upon which the basis of 1844 was made, has fallen, and consequently the valuation is not so great now as it was then.

5574. Mr. P. Scrope.] Supposing the production was equal as between one union and another, if the general value had sunk uniformly throughout, there would be no disadvantage in levying the rate upon the old valuation; if it had sunk one half uniformly, it would not injuriously affect any part?—No, but it enables a person who looks cursorily at the transaction to say, "You only paid 5 s. in the pound," whereas in fact you paid 10 s.

5575. Chairman.] Do you also consider that the valuation between one electoral division and another, and between one townland and another, is unequal?—Yes, because in the poor-law valuation it was left altogether to the mere will and pleasure of the valuator; there was no standard to refer to, and the country did not afford the class of persons that were competent to value properly.

5576. Do you think that it would be an advantage that you should have one uniform valuation for all purposes, made by competent parties?—Certainly, and it is a very important point now, because the value of everything is so materially altered as to make the valuations that were made some years ago absolutely useless and extremely oppressive.

Martis, 24^a die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord John Russell.
Sir William Somerville.
Major Blackall.
Mr. Mossell.
Mr. Studdell.
Sir Lucas O'Brien.
Mr. Herbert.
Mr. G. C. Lewis.
Mr. O'Flaherty.
Mr. Bright.

Sir Denham Nagereys.
Sir Robert Ferguson.
Colonel Dunne.
Mr. Sharrman Crawford.
Mr. Clements.
Sir James Graham.
Mr. Reynolds.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Poulett Scrope.

SIR JOHN YOUNG, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

Aubrey de Vere, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5577. Mr. Mossell.] IN what part of Ireland have you resided?—I have resided chiefly in the county of Limerick, in the Union of Rathkeale. *A. de Vere, Esq.*

5578. I believe your brother is a large landed proprietor?—Yes.

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5579. Has he property in any other union?—He has property in the unions of Rathkeale and Newcastle.

5580. And has he property also in any other county?—He has property also in the county of Tipperary.

5581. Have you paid much attention to the working of the poor law in those districts?—I have paid a good deal of attention to it. I was not in Ireland during the greater part of last year, but I was living at home during the whole period of the distress of 1846 and 1847; and my eldest brother was at that time the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Union of Rathkeale, which afforded me many opportunities of observing the modes adopted for the relief of distress, and the difficulties to be encountered. I was myself a member of the relief committee of my electoral division.

5582. Have you paid much attention to the working of the poor law in the other portions of the south of Ireland?—I have been in other parts of the south of Ireland—in the counties of Clare, Tipperary, and Kerry chiefly; and on all occasions I have made it a particular object to inquire, as far as I could, into the working of the poor law.

5583. I understand you to say, that during the last two or three years, your mind has been a good deal directed to the working of the poor law in those districts?—Yes.

5584. And also to the working of the poor law in the west of Ireland?—Yes, as far as I have been able to obtain information on the subject, from documentary evidence and from friends in the west of Ireland. I have not myself been in Connaught.

5585. Can you give the Committee an accurate account of the present state of the unions of Rathkeale and Newcastle?—The population of the Union of Rathkeale is 68,174, and the valuation is 129,985*l.* The population of the Union of Newcastle is 60,007, and the valuation is 108,089*l.* The rate collected in Rathkeale during the year that ended in September 1848, was 4*s.* 2*d.* in the pound, and the rate expended was 4*s.* 2*d.* In Newcastle, the rate collected was 5*s.* 10*d.* in the pound, and the poundage expended was 6*s.* 3*d.* It will be perceived that Rathkeale, the union with which I am chiefly acquainted, is by no means one of the worst situated unions in Ireland, and yet in that particular union I have had a personal opportunity of observing many of the chief evils which at present exist in Ireland. I have known cases in which respectable farmers, occupying considerable tracts of ground, have relinquished their farms and abandoned the country. I have known large districts of land left entirely waste; and in other cases, where the proprietors endeavoured to afford employment

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by raising money for the purpose, strikes have taken place among the labourers, though they were receiving sufficient wages; the apparent motive being, that as an alternative they expected out-door relief. The cases of distress among the higher classes of society are numerous and severe.

5586. I suppose all those evils are developed in a much more intense degree in the Union of Newcastle than in the Union of Rathkesale?—Yes; but I am not so well acquainted with the Union of Newcastle. I think it more important to observe that they are developed in Rathkesale, because, from the population and valuation of that union, it is evidently not one of the worst in Ireland.

5587. Under existing circumstances, do you conceive that the suffering districts which you have described are likely to amend?—I can perceive no such prospect whatever, unless measures which have not yet been introduced should be speedily introduced; on the contrary, it appears to me that the tendency of the existing state of things is to get worse rapidly.

5588. Upon what do you found that opinion?—The same circumstances which now produce these evils are likely to continue and to be aggravated. The resources of the farmers are becoming more exhausted every day. It becomes more difficult for them every day to maintain their ground and cultivate their land properly; and in fact many of them have been drawing upon such small capital as they possess to pay their rates, which capital of course becomes diminished daily.

5589. Has that been generally the case in the Union of Rathkesale?—It has not been so general as in the west, but it has been very frequent.

5590. What influence do you conceive that the poor law has exercised upon the state of the country?—I think the poor law in many cases has produced or aggravated the evils which I have described. I do not think that was the necessary result of a poor law, but I ascribe its bad working to certain specific characteristics of the existing poor law in Ireland.

5591. Will you be good enough to explain what you mean by that answer?—It appears to me that the chief reason why the existing poor law has aggravated the distress in the western part of Ireland is, that it has been misapplied. It has been constituted the sole remedy for famine; a poor law being, as I apprehend, adapted not to a state of famine, but to a state of chronic distress. I should say that the economical object of a poor law was to prevent pauperism, rather than to support a very large number of paupers; and in many respects it obviously has that tendency. It is notorious that the burden of pauperism must ever fall, directly or indirectly, upon property; but the effect of a poor law is to make that burden fall in time, and fall directly, upon the classes of farmers and proprietors, they being the classes who have chiefly the means of averting pauperism. The farmers can avert pauperism by the adoption of a scientific method of agriculture, such for instance as prevails in England; they have also the power, where pauperism is considerable, of watching and detecting all abuses which take place in the administration of the poor law; and both farmers and proprietors have the power of averting pauperism by preventing the subdivision of land. In all those respects it appears to me that the main purpose of a poor law should be considered to be prevention; it has a tendency, when duly guarded, to prevent the occurrence of a very great amount of pauperism; but if the poor law be misapplied, as in the case of Ireland it was by the Extension Act, it is then too late to produce those useful effects; and the chief effect which it seems to produce then is that of diverting those resources, which might otherwise be spent upon productive labour, to the gratuitous support of paupers. Such an appropriation of funds has an obvious tendency to prevent land from being cultivated; in other words, the object of the poor law seems to me, in such a case, directly counteracted.

5592. Does not your opinion amount to something of this sort, that you conceive that the present disastrous state of things has arisen, not from the poor law, but from relying only on the poor law?—It proceeds from having relied chiefly or exclusively upon the poor law during a time of famine; and it proceeds likewise from having so modified that poor law, in order to enable it to meet a case of famine, as to deprive it of those tests, safeguards and securities, which all experience has proved to be necessary in order to prevent abuse.

5593. In point of fact, this improper use of the poor law has, in your opinion, had the effect of preventing its producing those good results which otherwise you think a poor law is calculated to produce?—It has reversed those effects. But there are other illustrations of the same thing: one benefit supposed to result from a poor law is, that it gives the poor man a guarantee, as long as he obeys

obeys the laws of his country, of being protected from starvation in case of unforeseen reverse; and in that respect gives him the immunity of a subject. But if the poor law is applied in a case of famine, that effect, highly important both morally and politically, is not produced, because the poor law cannot during a famine give sufficient and timely relief to the poor; and we have witnessed an unprecedented mortality in Ireland notwithstanding the existence of the poor law. In the workhouses the mortality has more than trebled, I believe, in the course of the last six or eight months.

5594. On the whole, do you conceive that what you suppose to be defects in the law are owing to the law itself, or to the peculiar circumstances with which it has had to contend?—I think it proceeds from the circumstances with which it has had to contend, and also from several provisions which have recently been introduced into it, in the vain endeavour of adapting it to those circumstances.

5595. Taking its present working, what do you conceive its effects to have been on the districts with which you are acquainted?—I think its effects have been to prevent the giving of as much employment as would otherwise have been given by proprietors, and to prevent farmers from adopting so good a species of agriculture as they would have done if they had been allowed to retain their capital in their hands. It has also had very injurious moral effects upon the people. It has diminished the spirit of independence and self-reliance, which it would have been very important to have cherished and increased in Ireland; and it has tended also to diminish the sacredness of the domestic ties. There have been numerous instances of fathers deserting their children, and husbands their wives. It has also introduced many social corruptions, encouraging a vast number of abuses and subterfuges connected with the administration of the law, persons having pretended to give up land which they had not given up, and deserted women pretending to be widows.

5596. What would have been the condition of the people without the poor law?—It would have been very bad. I should be sorry to be understood as being an advocate for discarding a poor law; what I intended to express was, that the poor law was a highly important part of the relief system required; but that it was a part only, and not the whole; and that the poor law which we required was one in many important respects, which I am willing to specify, different from the law which at present exists in Ireland, and more nearly approaching to the poor law of England.

5597. In fact, the view that you take is the view which may be supposed to have been taken by a person considering the question of the poor law in England before 1834?—Yes; and almost all the injurious consequences which result from the poor law in Ireland are analogous to those which imperilled England before the amendment of the English poor law. In England a very great pressure of pauperism was produced, chiefly by the defects in the unamended law. In Ireland a much greater amount of pauperism has been produced, partly by defects in our law, but chiefly by the potato failure, and by the fact that we laboured under a very great excess of population before this famine took place, whereas it does not appear that there was any considerable excess of population in England previous to the reform of the existing poor law. The very same calamities which we have had to deplore in connexion with the relief system in Ireland existed notoriously in England previously to the reform of the poor law. Guardians were intimidated; threatening notices were served upon them; and, in fact, almost all those abuses, whether proceeding from violence or from fraud, which were observed in Ireland during the Labour Rate Act and which are fostered by the present out-door relief system, existed equally in the pauperized parts of England previously to the reform of the poor law.

5598. How far in your opinion would the building of additional workhouses meet the evils you have been describing?—I think it would be a very important reform with reference to the permanent state of Ireland and the ordinary working of the poor law. One of the defects of our poor law is that the area of taxation is far too large, that is, the electoral division; and the area of administration, that is, the union, is also far too large; therefore with reference to the ordinary state of things, it is necessary to divide the unions, and consequently to increase the number of workhouses: but I think it would be wholly fallacious to suppose that any increase in the number of workhouses could possibly adapt the poor law to a state of famine; because it is to be observed, that after a famine has continued for a certain time the workhouse ceases to be a test of destitution. The

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poor man requires not only food, but he requires clothes, fire, and a roof over his head; and these things cannot be procured without money or labour except in the workhouse.

5599. Do you state it as the result of your observation that workhouses have ceased to be a test of destitution; for instance, in the Union of Rathkeale?—No, by no means; I think the test of the workhouse has been extremely useful in the Union of Rathkeale, and I think we should get on much better if our union were divided, and if we had two or three workhouses instead of one. But what I meant to state was, that in the most distressed parts of Coonsaght the workhouse has ceased to be a test of destitution; therefore an increase in the number of workhouses would be no security for a strict administration of the poor law in those districts, though it would be useful in other parts of the country.

5600. Do not you ascribe the fact that the Union of Limerick is in a much better state than the Union of Rathkeale to the workhouses in Limerick being enlarged?—The workhouse accommodation there has been very considerably enlarged, and the test of destitution so procured has no doubt diminished the number of applicants for relief.

5601. *Sir R. Ferguson.* Do you know the number of persons relieved in the unions of Limerick and Rathkeale?—I cannot state the number in the Union of Limerick. The highest number receiving out-door relief at the close of any week in the year ending September 1848, was, in Rathkeale 14,653, and in Newenale 23,519.

5602. *Mr. Monnell.* It has been alleged that there has been some repudiation of engagements made on the part of the different Boards of Guardians with respect to the loans incurred for building the workhouses; are you able to state the facts with regard to the Limerick workhouse?—This is the fact with regard to the Limerick workhouse, explaining the reason why the advances have not been repaid. The house was originally built for 1,600 inmates, and to increase the accommodation, the guardians built permanent additions (the greater part within the last two years of the distress), at a cost of 9,500*l.*, without a single application for a Government loan. Had they not had an assurance from Mr. Hancock, the poor law inspector, that the Government was better pleased at their providing such additional accommodation, they would, instead of having provided it, have devoted the funds which they spent upon it to the repayment of the advance. They spent 9,500*l.* in the building of additional workhouses, and 900*l.* for other purposes; I think, the repairs of the existing workhouse. That sum, added to 14,000*l.*, which was the sum originally advanced for the building of the workhouses, constitutes altogether a sum of 24,040*l.* Now, the instalments that would have been due, during the eight years which have elapsed, had the whole of the money spent on buildings been advanced by Government, would have amounted to the sum of 9,760*l.* It will therefore be observed that they have spent a sum rather larger than that sum upon a purpose which they conceived to be equivalent to it, and which was regarded with more approval by the Government.

5603. In addition to that large expenditure of money in a time of peculiar distress, are not the Board of Guardians in Limerick at present paying a large sum annually for houses which they have hired as additional workhouses?—Yes; but the benefit derived from those houses is very far less than might be expected, because it is impossible to keep up discipline in them.

5604. *Sir R. Ferguson.* Did the Limerick Board expend that money from the current rates, or did they borrow it from their treasury?—I think they raised rates for the express purpose.

5605. *Mr. Monnell.* Do you conceive that any houses not built for the purpose could be used with advantage as the workhouses of new unions?—Certainly not; it would be impossible to preserve discipline in houses not built expressly as workhouses.

5606. You think it, then, essential in making new unions, that new workhouses should be built?—I do.

5607. And you hold that it would be impossible to use the workhouse test unless the workhouses were specially built for the purpose?—Not only so, but I should add, that if houses not built for the purpose are resorted to as workhouses, they are much more likely to prove attractive resorts than to act as a test of destitution.

5608. The parochial workhouses in England, before 1834, had very much that effect?—Yes; they were a combination of every species of abuse.

5609. You

5609. You would not think it desirable to introduce those evils into Ireland?
—By no means.

5610. And you think those evils would be introduced by the attempt to make new unions without erecting new workhouses?—I do.

5611. You have been describing the evils under which the part of Ireland with which you are acquainted is at present suffering; I will now ask you a few questions with respect to the different remedies which have been proposed: what do you conceive would be the effect of a rate in aid?—I think the effect of a rate in aid would be to increase the evils at present existing, and also to extend those evils over parts of the country not at present infested with them.

5612. Will you state your reasons for that opinion?—One objection to a rate in aid, which applies more expressly to a union rate in aid, is, that in the case where it is most wanted it must be wholly nugatory. Take for instance the unions in which the most distressed electoral divisions are situated; it will be found that those unions in their collective capacity are in the same state of destitution as their component parts. The most destitute unions lie for the most part near each other, and consequently you beg from a beggar when you try to get from the unions in the distressed districts in the west, the funds necessary for the relief of their bankrupt subdivisions. Another, and a most important reason, is that such a rate in aid will paralyse all local exertion and must therefore tend eventually to the destruction of the country. If proprietors and farmers know that they are responsible not only for the pauperism of their own electoral division, a space already far too large, but also for the pauperism in all the electoral divisions of their union, or perhaps throughout the whole of Ireland, they have in that case no means whatever of protecting themselves from increasing rates by any exertion which they can make in the way of giving employment. An electoral division which has husbanded its resources, worked the poor law efficiently, and given employment, will find an adjoining electoral division which has neglected all those things, supported at its expense. Another very important objection is, that a rate in aid virtually abolishes the smaller area of taxation. It may be said we can have two areas of taxation; let us tax the electoral division up to a certain sum, to 3s., or 4s., or 5s. in the pound, and after that let us fix another sum, for which a larger area shall be responsible, viz., the union, or Ireland at large. But those two areas can co-exist theoretically only, not practically, because in all those electoral divisions in which the rate seems likely to touch the maximum, the farmers will calculate upon its passing that boundary. They will from the beginning anticipate the ultimate source of relief; and in leaning on the promised aid will throw themselves on the larger area of taxation. Moreover it has been observed very frequently that the chief danger in connexion with the recipients of relief arises from exaggerated expectations. It is not merely the actual amount of money spent which constitutes the loss, but it is also the exaggerated expectations entertained by persons who expect to be dependent upon the rates. A man who depends only upon the rates to be raised in an electoral division can guess as to whether it will be possible or not to raise the rates which are necessary for his support; but if he is to draw upon the union, a district of the capabilities of which he knows little, he has an indefinite bank to draw upon, and proportionately a smaller inducement to avoid pauperism. Another statement which I should wish to make upon this subject is, that if the rate in aid under consideration be that one which is called an Irish rate, as distinguished from the union rate also proposed, we must remember that it will not really prove an Irish rate, but a rate levied upon the provinces of Ulster and Leinster for the benefit of Connaught and Munster; because in the greater part of Connaught and Munster it is impossible to raise a larger rate than is necessary for the support of the people in those localities. In Connaught, the whole rate raised during the last year did not amount to one half of the sum spent in relief of distress there; and the destitution during the ensuing year is likely to be at least as great as that of last. If such a relief system were to continue for any length of time it would reduce the other two provinces to the condition of the two worst provinces. I think its final effect would be to reduce the whole of Ireland to the condition in which Connaught now is; in which case, unless Ireland were to receive a rate in aid from England, as it is now proposed that Connaught should receive a rate in aid from Ulster, I think the whole country must become a waste. Those seem to me to be very grave objections against a rate in aid.

5613. Are there any other objections to a union rate in aid besides those which

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you have stated?—The chief objection to a union rate in aid, as distinguished from a national rate in aid, is that it would be wholly unproductive where most wanted. I cannot imagine that in the case of the worst unions it would afford relief for a week, or a day. Those unions in which nine-tenths of the electoral divisions cannot get on without extraneous aid, could not, of course, furnish any additional rates.

5614. Take the union with which you are best acquainted, the union of Rathkeale. You stated that the average rate last year was 4 s. 2 d. in the pound for each electoral division?—Yes.

5615. Supposing a 5 s. maximum rate for the electoral divisions and a 2 s. union rate, what would be the effect upon that union when the rate amounted to 4 s. 2 d. in the pound?—I imagine there would not be one electoral division in that union in which the rate would not amount to 5 s.

5616. Each electoral division would get scent of the union rate?—Each would count on the whole union rate, as if no other electoral division were to have its share.

5617. The question of a maximum rate is of course involved in the consideration either of a national rate in aid or of a union rate in aid, what is your opinion of the probable effect of a maximum rate?—There are many and serious objections to that expedient. In the first place, a maximum rate is opposed to the principle of the poor law; that principle being, that not a part but the whole of the annual produce of the land stands pledged for the support of the poor. I believe it is also likely to prove illusory. In the case of a famine the maximum will be reached in many places, and when it is reached you must exceed it. I think that so far as it is a substitute for remedial measures of another kind, such as I shall refer to afterwards, that ground alone is the highest ground of objection; because the case of Ireland is to the last degree grave, and nothing but the most effectual and solid remedies can prevent general ruin. But the chief objection is the direct tendency of a maximum rate to become a minimum rate. It is said that the object of a maximum rate is to give security to the farmer, and to prevent his being deterred from taking land which other persons have relinquished from the fear of the rates. It is supposed that it will work in this way: If a maximum be imposed, say of 6 s. or 7 s., he will say, "The rent ought to be proportionately diminished; I will pay 7 s. in rates, and 13 s. in rent." But if you give that species of artificial security to the farmer, you do away, as it appears to me, with your only possible chance of preventing the poor-rate, not only from reaching 7 s., but ultimately the whole value of the land; because it is only the exertions of the farmers which can keep it down. The farmers chiefly employ the labour of the country, and it belongs to them to adopt a scientific method of agriculture, such as exists in England, or, on the other hand, to content themselves with raising such produce as they can from the ground, without any reference to the proportion which should be maintained between population and employment. It belongs to the farmer exclusively to check abuses in the administration of the poor law. If therefore you give the farmer such an immunity, I think the rates must necessarily rise very rapidly to the maximum of 7 s. In England, when great abuses existed, the rate rose, not to 7 s. or 20 s., but to 30 s. and 40 s., till the whole property of certain parishes was in imminent danger of confiscation.

5618. Is not that an objection to the amount rather than to the principle of a maximum?—It is an objection to both. I should qualify that statement to this extent, namely, the higher the maximum the less evil it will do; and I should therefore prefer a 10 s. maximum to a 7 s., and a 20 s. maximum to a 10 s. But I think, if the maximum is low enough to produce any effect whatsoever, it must gradually produce the effect which I have described.

5619. Admitting that there are disadvantages connected with fixing a maximum rate, do you not conceive that there are many advantages connected with it? Do not you conceive that capital would be much more likely to flow into the district if there were a maximum rate?—I do not deny that it is capable of producing relief under particular circumstances, for the moment; but I think the tenor of my argument shows that, whatever advantages it produces for the moment, will be more than counterbalanced by the evils which it will produce eventually. A maximum rate loses sight of the great principle of the poor law, namely, that the poor law is a preventive measure. It is not for the purpose of supporting an indefinite number of individuals, by the confiscation of the whole or a part of the property,

property, that a poor-law should exist; but for the purpose of preventing pauperism, by giving warning in time to those parties who in the end pay it cost. A maximum rate removes from the farmer that urgency and that pressure which alone constitute the warning, and therefore the poor law, with a maximum rate attached to it, ceases to be a preventive measure till that maximum is reached. I should also observe, that a maximum, if it is to be a uniform maximum, must necessarily be either too high or too low in nine-tenths of the country. Nobody will say that it is a matter of indifference whether the maximum be too high or too low. If the maximum be too high, it will not produce any effect, and if it be too low, then it will produce at once and instantaneously the effect I have described, that of becoming the minimum. The question, then, as regards the amount of the maximum, must be determined with reference to the circumstances of each electoral division;—not of each union, but of each electoral division separately considered. There are electoral divisions in Ireland in which the rate is about 1s. in the pound, and there are others in which it has risen to 20s. and 30s., and there are many in which it has risen to 8s. and 10s. Nobody will say that the same maximum is the right maximum in all those cases. Another reason against a maximum rate is that it necessarily includes a rate in aid. I have already stated the reasons which induce me to consider a rate in aid exceedingly injurious. Another reason which prevents a maximum rate from being applicable to Ireland is that the valuation of Ireland is not uniform. In some parts of the country it is one-half as high again as in other parts; therefore the maximum rate would be a different sum in different parts of the country. With reference to the question asked, whether fixing a maximum would tend to introduce capital into the country, I stated that under particular circumstances it might at first do so; but I should qualify that observation by saying that it would have no tendency to introduce more capital into the country than found its way there before we had a poor law. But before any poor law existed capital did not find its way into Ireland to any considerable extent, on account of the great amount of pauperism, and on account of social disorganization. I am therefore opposed to a maximum rate, and a rate in aid; and to a maximum rate especially, because at the moment it seems to have something more specious in it than the other.

5620. You spoke of the circumstances of different portions of Ireland requiring a different maximum rate, but in the districts you have spoken of in which the rate is only 1s. or 2s. in the pound, a maximum rate would not be required?—No; but in those districts where it was not required, and therefore had no chance of doing good, it would have abundant opportunity of doing harm.

5621. How could it do harm in a district in which the rate was only 1s. in the pound for the support of the poor?—If the rate was only 1s. in the pound it would amount to that sum only in consequence of the great temporary exertions made by farmers and proprietors, and by the farmers especially; but if a maximum had been defined the farmers in that district would perceive that they were no better off than the farmers who had recently taken farms in the adjoining electoral division, in which the rate had risen to 4s. or 5s. in the pound, those farmers being *pro tempore* protected by the 7s. maximum, and having taken their farms at a proportionately lower rent.

5622. Would not the chance of their rates rising from 1s. to 5s. and 7s. in the pound be a sufficient inducement to those farmers to continue the exertions of which you speak?—I think that the inducement derived from the fact that the farmer who, in taking a lease, deducted the maximum rate from the rent agreed on, might yet realize a certain gain over and above that which he had calculated on, is an inducement very much less strong than the inducement which at present exists, arising from the fact that if those exertions are not made he will be exposed to utter destruction. Before the poor law was introduced into Ireland the farmer ought doubtless to have considered that if he increased his exertions in the way of giving employment he would have to pay less in compulsion than to mendicants, and would not be obliged to grant conacre, and to subdivide his land; but this would have been a gain over and above what he had calculated on for his support, and the inducement of obtaining such gain is much less than avoiding ruin.

5623. Do you know whether there have been heavy arrears of poor rates in any of the electoral divisions in the Union of Rathkeale or in the Union of New-

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castle?—In the Union of Newcastle there are very considerable arrears, as is proved by the fact that the money expended considerably exceeds the rates raised; in Rushkeale the money raised last year slightly exceeded the money expended.

5624. In that case the solvent ratepayers must be paying a large sum on account of the failure of the insolvent ratepayers?—Yes.

5625. Do you conceive that the solvent ratepayers would be protected by making the fee simple of the land responsible for the rate?—They might be protected for the moment, but only under circumstances which would make their final ruin more certain; because, while I disbelieve the argument frequently brought against a poor law, viz., that it is virtually communism, yet I must say that if you make the fee simple of the land responsible for the rate, instead of the annual produce of the land, the accusation is made good, and the whole of the property is then virtually mortgaged to the poor. If the fee simple of the land is made responsible for the rate, what does that mean but that you have the power of anticipating the produce of the next 25 or 30 years, in order to support the paupers of this year? It is not true that the English poor law leads to the results of communism; because, in the first place, the impost is limited by the area of taxation: if pauperism becomes severe, the pressure will be felt first in particular localities; it will be impossible in those particular localities to raise the funds necessary for the support of paupers; the local suffering will act as a timely warning that the poor law alone is not sufficient to provide relief, and that further means must be resorted to; but if you not only extend the area of taxation, as it is proposed to do by the rate in aid, but also extend the power of taxation over the 25 years yet to come, then, while you give the pauper a bank which seems to him inexhaustible, you give the proprietor no means whatsoever of protecting himself, and you destroy those securities which a poor law such as we have had experience of in England includes in itself, as a part of its necessary constitution. I should say therefore that to make the fee simple of the land responsible for the rate, and at the same time to extend the area of taxation, was a course utterly subversive of the principle of the poor law, and one which amounts to confiscation. It would undoubtedly for the moment relieve the proprietors who found themselves charged with the arrears of their neighbours; but it would only relieve them from that difficulty in order to sacrifice them successively and separately. This proposition is one of many attempts to adapt the poor law to a case of famine, to which it is utterly inapplicable. Many such expedients will suggest themselves to one's mind. For instance, if you were to limit the rights of proprietors in favour of their tenants, so as to prevent any subsequent advance in the value of land from benefiting them, that, it has been urged, would give the tenants a greater interest in the land, would make it worth their while to adopt a better system of agriculture, and strengthen them in sustaining the burden of rates; but that, as it seems to me, would be another form of confiscation, one for the benefit of the occupier. There are many other expedients which would prove equally unsuccessful; because they are all but an attempt at the solution of a problem which is not to be solved. There is, in my opinion, no means of meeting the case of famine, except by measures especially required by the famine, and adapted to it.

5626. You have expressed a strong opinion with regard to the desirableness of reducing the areas of taxation; do you conceive that the same object which you desire to effect by that means could be accomplished by any other means; for instance, a labour rate?—No; a labour rate is a thing which has been tried in England, and the effects have been unsuccessful; it was tried in Ireland by the State on a very extensive scale, and it is hardly necessary for me to observe that the effect was to paralyse the whole labour of the country in the course of a fortnight. I conceive the same principle to lie at the root of the one system and the other system; in each case labour is paralysed by the fact, that the labourer knows that he is employed without reference to the value of the work done. Whether he is employed by the farmer or by the State, he is employed in the one case because the State does not wish that he should die, and in the other case because the farmer finds it necessary to avoid the payment of the rate; but in each case it is without reference to the value of the work done. A labour rate seems to me practically to supersede all those moral ties which naturally exist between the employers of labour and the labourers. But the labour rate has been tried in a more direct way in England. Before the English poor law was altered it was one of the most common things in England to

try

try to adjust the labour of the parish by the employment of a labour rate. Labourers were put up to auction, and pauper labour was found to be valueless.

5527. My question was addressed to the point, whether a labour rate, which had been tried in England, would be suited to the condition of Ireland?—I think it would be especially unsuited to the condition of Ireland; it worked ill in England, except in particular cases; I have no doubt that in some cases it might for a time have worked tolerably in England, till tried by a real excess of population; but in Ireland it would break down rapidly, because the amount of overpopulation is so great. The labourers would see through the scheme at once, and say, "You must employ me whether I give labour that is worth 1 s. a day or only 2 d. a day, and my wages must depend upon the size of my family; if I marry and have children, you must give me so much more." The moral ties between employer and labourer cannot exist without serfdom, or real freedom on both sides.

5528. Do you think that the latter result which you have mentioned as likely to arise from a labour rate, would be likely to arise from any considerable diminution of the size of the electoral divisions?—An analogous result might perhaps proceed from reducing the electoral divisions to the size of townlands, or of properties; it would not be my desire to reduce them so far, though I should wish to reduce them to a size in some degree corresponding with that of the English parishes.

5529. In speaking with reference to the diminution of the areas of taxation, your idea is, that the size of the electoral divisions in Ireland should be reduced to the size of the English parishes?—Yes; the electoral divisions in Ireland are three times as large as the English parishes, and the unions in the same proportion. I should wish to make our electoral divisions of the same size as the English parishes, modifying them according to circumstances that must be taken into consideration, in reference to population and valuation; and where these are low, as in the mountain districts, it might be necessary that the electoral divisions should be larger than the average parishes in England.

5530. You have now gone through several of the remedies which have been proposed for the existing state of things in Ireland, and mentioned your reasons for believing that those proposed remedies would be ineffectual: I come now to the question of the reclamation of waste lands; what is your opinion upon that subject?—It is one of the things which ought not to be neglected; but I think to rely upon it as at all commensurate with our necessities would be a dangerous delusion. In the first place, the advocates for the reclamation of waste lands do not calculate that if reclaimed they would provide for more than some half million of people; in the second place, it is to be recollected that in the reclaiming of waste lands at all times you sink a very great amount of capital, and we labour under a great deficiency of capital. To that I would add, that hitherto the reclaiming of waste land has been greatly assisted by the potato, which we have now lost, and that the expense therefore of such enterprises will be proportionately greater henceforward. We must also remember that if we reclaimed waste lands, and located upon them a larger population than they were subsequently able to maintain or employ, or if the settlers were placed upon lands which they had not capital to keep drained, or if by means of subsequent subdivisions the population became excessive, we should aggravate the evils that we have now to contend with. It would be like adding two or three millions of pauperised acres to the worst districts of Connaught. I use that argument to show that if such a plan were carried into effect, without proper provisions for eventual success, it might aggravate our present evils.

5531. Do not you think the tendency of the present state of things is to throw lands at present tillied out of cultivation, rather than to make it desirable to take other lands into cultivation?—I believe there are many parts of Ireland under corn cultivation which are not adapted for it; and, generally speaking, it is notorious that Irish agriculture being in a low state, money may be more profitably spent upon improving land that is worth 10 s. an acre, than in reclaiming land that is not worth half-a-crown an acre. I have known very unsuccessful instances in which people have undertaken to reclaim bogs, and especially mountain bogs, though there are instances of success; and I believe the Society which has existed for the purpose of reclaiming waste land, has ceased to exist.

5532. It published many very flourishing reports during the last three or four years, and the people connected with it imagined that it was likely to yield a very

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large revenue, but now it has become utterly bankrupt?—It does not surprise me that its operations should have become more and more unproductive since the potato failure has occurred, because, as I have already stated, the potato was the first crop taken from reclaimed ground.

5633. I believe that in the part of the country in which you reside there are a very large number of embarrassed proprietors; have you turned your attention to the question of the desirableness of facilitating the sale of encumbered estates?—I have, and I am sure it would be very desirable in both countries to facilitate the sale of such estates, in a manner not inconsistent with the rights of property or of heirs; and that the proprietors themselves would be the first to say so.

5634. Do you consider that if any measures were devised for the purpose of facilitating the sale of encumbered estates, or of getting rid of the legal difficulties in the way of the sale of such estates, they would lead persons to become purchasers of estates in Ireland?—Certainly not; because all the obstacles to the cultivation of the land which I have adverted to, resulting from the potato failure and from our present poor law, would render the sale of land difficult in proportion as the land becomes less valuable. I know an estate that was offered for sale two or three years since; 18,500 *l.* were then refused for it, and the person to whom the estate belongs can now get no higher offer than 10,500 *l.* It is in the county of Limerick, in which the distress does not approach the distress of the western parts of Ireland.

5635. I understand you to say that a measure for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates would in no degree meet the evils you speak of, unless other measures were simultaneously introduced?—Other measures, I think, are necessary at the same time.

5636. Without other remedies being adopted, you think there would be no purchasers?—None.

5637. Before I ask you what remedies you would be inclined to suggest, I will ask you whether you can account for the poor law working so differently in England and in Ireland at present?—I think it is not difficult to account for that circumstance. In the first place, the poor law in Ireland has been applied to meet famine, to which a poor law is not adapted, since in a case of famine a poor law must aggravate the evils with which it is left to contend alone. There are other causes: the condition of England, both social and economical, differs wholly from that of Ireland, and the English poor law is also so different from the poor law of Ireland, that little but the name exists in common. As to the social condition of England, it is not necessary to observe that there are a much greater number of proprietors, and a much more important middle class fit for the administration of the poor law, in England than in Ireland. As regards the difference between the economical condition of the two countries, let us compare the rated property in England and in Ireland, and then compare the unrated property in England with the unrated property in Ireland; because though the rates are not paid nominally by the latter, of course those who possess property, whether rated or unrated, are the better able to pay rates. The rated property in England is nominally 65,000,000 *l.*; but I apprehend that the real value of the rated property in England exceeds 100,000,000 *l.*

5638. It was so stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer?—Yes; he made the statement on the authority of the returns connected with the income tax. The unrated property of England is valued at 140,000,000 *l.* If those two calculations be correct, the whole property of England will be about 240,000,000 *l.* The rated property of Ireland is 13,000,000 *l.*; but then it is to be considered that the real value of that property has fallen, in consequence of the famine.

5639. Was it not rated low originally?—Yes; but I believe the depreciation which has taken place in the value of property is considerably more than sufficient to atone for that circumstance. The unrated property of Ireland has been supposed to be worth about 7,000,000 *l.* a year; those two sums would amount to 20,000,000 *l.* a year. Now I believe the English poor-rate, during this last year, has not much exceeded 6,000,000 *l.*; which sum would, if you take the rated and the unrated property of England together, bear the proportion of about 6*d.* in the pound to the whole. The Irish poor-rate for the last year was above 1,600,000 *l.*, which would bear the proportion of more than 1*s.* 6*d.* to the whole property of Ireland, rated and unrated.

5640. But that left a considerable debt, and was assisted from extraneous resources?—Yes.

5941. I believe

5641. I believe the total sum expended upon the poor was 2,000,000*l.*?—Not so much as 2,000,000*l.*; it was 1,855,889*l.*

5642. Sir J. Graham.] Upon what system do you estimate the unrated property of Ireland at 7,000,000*l.*?—I have frequently heard the question discussed, and I have never heard it rated higher; but I do not know that we have any means of arriving at a conclusion with exact accuracy.

5643. Those persons who have inquired into the subject have fixed it at 7,000,000*l.*?—Yes.

5644. Mr. Bright.] Can you name any sources from which you have derived that information?—I speak from the discussions one hears in society upon the subject.

5645. Sir J. Graham.] From whence do you draw the conclusion that in England the unrated property is 140,000,000*l.*?—I believe that to be the fact. I have heard it stated, and have never heard it contradicted. I am perfectly ready to be corrected if I am wrong; but I suppose the amount of the unrated property can be ascertained by the proceeds of the income tax. I should observe next that the English Poor Law has existed so long, that estates have been bought and sold subject to the poor-rate, and leases have been taken subject to it; consequently, the burthen resembles that of tithe before that impost was commuted. It is a tax which may amount to a very great sum without being felt at all by the existing class of farmers or proprietors, except so far as rates have risen within a recent period.

5646. Mr. Mowell.] Will you compare the actual value of the rated property in England with the rate, and the actual value of the rated property in Ireland with the rate, and state the result of that comparison?—The rated property of England we consider to be worth over 100,000,000*l.*; if you calculate the poor-rate at 6,000,000*l.*, it will be easy to ascertain what proportion one bears to the other. The Irish rated property is 13,000,000*l.*, and the poor-rate actually paid last year was 1,619,646*l.* It is also to be observed, that though the poor-rate is due upon the gross property in Ireland, it is paid out of the net property; and of course it must be felt more severely, in consequence of the notorious fact that the charges on property are higher than in England.

5647. If the poor-law valuation in Ireland correctly describes the value of property, and the poor-law valuation in England does not do so, the comparison between the rates paid in the two countries, formed upon the poor-law valuations, would be extremely incorrect?—Certainly. That leads to the question before put, why the poor law acts differently in England and in Ireland. I stated that it was in consequence of the difference in the condition of the two countries, and also in consequence of the difference between the poor laws of the two countries. I need hardly observe that the two poor laws differ essentially. The area of taxation in England is so much smaller, that there is far less difficulty in the way of combination among the employers of labour than in Ireland. The English unions are managed in all cases by guardians who have a direct interest not only in the immediate administration of the law, but in the permanent value of property; in Ireland, in the most distressed unions, we have vice-guardians who have no interest whatsoever in the property. In England the poor-rate is imposed immediately upon the occupier, though of course a deduction, indirectly, from the value of property. In Ireland half of it is supposed to be paid by the landlord, and practically much more than half is actually paid by him. In Ireland, in the case of tenements below the value of 4*l.* a year, the occupier is wholly exempt from the rate, and such constitute more than half of the tenements in Ireland. In all these respects the two laws are essentially different. I do not mean to imply that the two ought to be in all respects and at once assimilated, though I think that in many respects they should. With regard to the area of taxation, there is one observation which I should wish to make, namely, that whether a small area of taxation be or be not necessary in order to induce the farmers or proprietors to give employment in an ordinary state of society, it becomes absolutely necessary when the employment required is an extraordinary amount; because if employment is extra, instead of that indirect co-operation which must always exist between employers in every county being sufficient, you require a direct co-operation previously ascertained. No person will undertake the responsibility of employing labourers, unless he knows that his neighbour will undertake a proportionate amount of responsibility. If he did, not only would he be virtually

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tually paying his neighbour's rate, but his own rate would be raised in proportion to the improvement effected in the land by the employment given. It was observed by Mr. Nicholl, in his examination before the Committee of the House of Lords, that the area of taxation was not to be considered too large, because it was not desirable to stimulate employment to any artificial degree. I understand his opinion to be, that the proprietors could not indeed be expected to combine to give an extra amount of employment, if the area of taxation were not small; but that all such employment was morbid, artificial, and would do harm; in other words, he is not of opinion that the poor law includes among its proper functions one very commonly attributed to it, that of stimulating employment by the pressure of a sudden and arbitrary necessity.

5648. You stated that the charges upon property were higher in Ireland than in England; will you explain what you meant by that answer?—I meant that the debts upon property being larger in Ireland than in England; when the poor-rate was imposed upon Irish property it was more severely felt, in consequence of the fact that the proprietor was obliged to pay out of his net income a charge upon property much of which was only nominally his. I do not mean to urge that as any objection to the poor law in Ireland; but I state it as one reason why the poor-rates are felt more heavily in Ireland than they would otherwise be.

5649. *Sir J. Graham.*] The charges upon the property not being public charges, but private charges?—Yes.

5650. *Mr. Monsell.*] But does not the poor-rate in England include monies levied for other purposes than those for the relief of the poor; for instance, the county rate?—I believe so.

5651. The poor-rates in Ireland are directly for the relief of the poor?—Yes. In England, I believe, a certain portion of the expense connected with the poor is not charged upon the poor-rate; for instance, the expense connected with auditing the accounts, and the medical department, and one or two other departments. I apprehend that those are charged upon the Consolidated Fund.

5652. But in Ireland they are charged upon the poor-rate?—Yes.

5653. *Sir R. Ferguson.*] As regards the medical expenses, is that so?—The medical expenses in connexion with the poor-law administration are in Ireland charged upon the poor-rate.

5654. *Mr. Monsell.*] You have stated your reasons for believing that many of the remedies suggested for the present state of Ireland are inadequate to meet the evil; do you believe the present state of Ireland to be desperate?—By no means; I believe that it not only admits of a remedy, but that the calamity which we have gone through recently gives us the opportunity of applying such a complete remedy as could not otherwise have been applied. I believe it would have been impossible to effect any reform of the condition of Ireland if we had not passed through so searching a trial, which renders absolutely necessary a change in our agricultural, and to a certain extent in our social system.

5655. Will you be so good as to state what the remedy is which you conceive will be effectual?—I will state at once the various measures which I conceive to be necessary, lest I should be supposed, from not stating one, to rely exclusively upon another. By far the most important is emigration; that I think a measure necessary in itself, and still more important as being one without which no other one will work. Another measure which I consider necessary is a good system of agricultural education in Ireland. Such assistance would not, probably, be necessary in other countries, but a new system of agriculture has been rendered suddenly necessary, and we are extremely backward on agricultural subjects. I think also that it would be highly desirable to undertake in particular districts certain public works, recommended by their own obvious value, not under circumstances that could possibly lead us back to a labour-rate system, but with provisions to prevent the chance of it. Able-bodied labourers alone should be employed, and of course they should be dismissed if they did not give proper work. I think it necessary also that we should reform the present poor law, retaining, however, a substantial and searching poor law in Ireland, in connexion with the measures I have named; and I need not observe that those measures would fail to work efficiently unless the preservation of the peace was regarded as a matter of absolute necessity, and moral education promoted.

5656. I come to the question which you conceive to be the most important; that is emigration. Would not any scheme of emigration, on a sufficiently large scale to remove the evils that you speak of, involve a very large expenditure

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of money. It would; but the State undertakes a large work when it undertakes to preserve a nation from the consequences of famine. In barbarous times, if a famine occurred multitudes died, and the case was then disposed of; in a Christian and civilized society, the State interferes to prevent death. It has therefore undertaken a large work, and a large work cannot be carried out without a large expense and large scheme. The great calamity which has fallen upon us gives us large opportunities for effecting a great and national gain: such opportunities do not recur; but if we avail ourselves of them, we shall be amply repaid that large expenditure.

5657. The first question with regard to this measure of emigration is, from what source the funds for the purpose of emigration should be derived?—If asked with regard to what I think right and just, my opinion is that the whole empire ought to furnish the funds; but if there is any insuperable objection to that, I think Ireland alone is capable of furnishing them, by means of an income tax, to be capitalised from time to time.

5658. Do you think it would be just to tax the whole of Ireland in order to benefit a part of it?—It would be just to tax the whole of Ireland in order to benefit a part of it, provided you really benefited that part. It seems to me a great hardship that you should tax the whole of Ireland for the support of a system which, according to the opinion of most persons in Ireland, will not improve, but deteriorate the condition of the part in question; but I think it would be both unjust and unwise in Ireland to object to be taxed for the permanent improvement of various parts of Ireland. Indeed it is obvious that the whole of Ireland must share in the benefit of a remedial course.

5659. As far as you are able to judge from the information which you have obtained, do you think that such a mode of raising money for the purpose of emigration would be objected to in Ireland?—I think not.

5660. Are you able to express any decided opinion upon that point; have you information sufficient to enable you to do so?—I can only state, that though I have frequently heard Irishmen express themselves adverse to an Irish national rate, or the application of an Irish income tax exclusively to poor-law purposes, I have never heard any person object to the application of an Irish income tax to the purpose of Irish emigration, or any other measure which he supposed to be really remedial.

5661. Having stated the source from which you would raise sufficient funds for carrying out such a system of emigration as you speak of, I will ask you one or two questions with regard to the portions of Ireland to which you would apply this system. Are there not many parts of Ireland at this present moment under-peopled; that is to say, are there not many parts of Ireland in which there are not a sufficient number of people to cultivate the land properly?—There are many parts of Ireland which do not require emigration, and never required it; and there are other parts in which the population has been so worn down by famine, that those who now remain are, I believe, inadequate to carry out such a cultivation of the land as we could wish to see; but even in those cases it does not necessarily follow that emigration is not desirable, because when we speak of such a system of cultivation as we desire to see, we take it for granted that capital is to be introduced. The population in those particular districts may be too small relatively to their industrial resources, and yet it may be too large relatively to the capital in them. The great problem being therefore to establish a right proportion between the capital and the population, you must either introduce capital into those districts or diminish numbers. It is worth observing, that what we have witnessed in those districts may become the case all over Ireland; you may have a population gradually diminishing, and yet capital gradually diminishing in a greater proportion. Capital is every day rapidly leaving Ireland, in consequence of the pressure of the rates and the flight of the farmers; and it is possible that if emigration be delayed too long, we may see the population far below what the proper cultivation of the land requires; in which case we should have a famine of the thirteenth century, instead of a famine of the nineteenth. The population of Ireland appears to have been excessive, as compared with capital, as far back as the time of Swift, when it was not more than a million and a half.

5662. Taking the west of Ireland, and looking to the miserable condition of the people, which you say unfits them to become emigrants, do you consider emigration to be the proper remedy there?—There are many districts in the west

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of Ireland in which emigration has I think ceased to be the remedy; those are districts to which emigration should have been applied at first; but not having been applied, the population has now not only diminished in number, but the people who remain are so utterly exhausted as to their physical powers that they are more fit to be nursed in hospitals than to cross the Atlantic and labour in their American or colonial labour markets. I have seen it stated in the evidence of a poor-law officer in Connaught, that in the county of Mayo you could hardly meet an able-bodied man, and yet that county is over-peopled; to apply emigration alone in such a case would entail great suffering on the people sent out. It is a healthy, a voluntary, and a prosperous emigration only that we should promote.

5663. You conceive that emigration would have been the remedy in those districts, if it had been applied in time?—Yes.

5664. Are you aware of any distressed districts in the west in which emigration has been applied in time, and in which it has been proved by the result to be an effectual remedy?—Yes, I know of particular estates where emigration has been tried; for instance, there is the estate of Mr. Spaight; that estate was in a miserable condition; emigration was resorted to, two or three years ago; during the famine 800 or 900 people were removed, and those who remained are now in a prosperous condition. I believe that on the estates of Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Gore Booth the same thing has been undertaken, with the same result.

5665. Will you name the counties or districts in which those estates are situated?—The estate of Mr. Spaight is in the county of Tipperary, and the estates of Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Gore Booth are in the county of Sligo, one of the most distressed parts of Ireland.

5666. I believe it is notorious that those two estates were in the worst condition of any, before the remedy of emigration was applied?—Yes; but those proprietors were proprietors possessed of resources which most Irish proprietors have not at their command. Another instance is that of Ballykilcline, which is an estate of the Crown; there the funds existed, and the redundant population has been removed, and the work is still in progress. I have not heard that the land has been relet under those more favourable circumstances; but the first step has been taken, because the funds existed in that instance.

5667. Before emigration was tried on the estate of Ballykilcline, which was an estate of the Crown, I believe that estate was in a condition which was actually disgraceful to the person managing it?—It was in the worst state of pauperism.

5668. Sir J. Graham.] In what county is that?—In the county of Roscommon.

5669. Sir R. Ferguson.] In what condition is that property now?—I stated that the redundant population has been removed; but I apprehend that the lands have not yet been let again; therefore that can only be adduced as an instance to show that emigration was considered to be the first step to improvement.

5670. Has there been any attempt recently to let or sell that property?—Great difficulties must exist as to the letting or selling of that or any property in Ireland, under the circumstances of famine and the existing poor law; but it would be easier to sell or let Ballykilcline than it would have been had that redundant population not been removed.

5671. Mr. Mowatt.] The fact that the estate of Ballykilcline has not met with a ready purchaser though it is an improved estate, proves that partial emigration from a certain district will not benefit the condition of the country?—Unquestionably not; if you benefit a particular townland of an electoral division by emigration, and if the main part of the electoral division remains subject to a very heavy rate, the particular electoral division will derive very little benefit from the change.

5672. Does it not therefore appear to you that this is a remarkable instance of the necessity of some general system of emigration, and proves the impossibility of the proprietors, particularly of small properties in pauperized districts, attempting to deal with the distress merely by removing the paupers from their own property?—It appears to me that the case is far beyond the efforts of mere individuals.

5673. You have stated the source from which you think funds ought to be raised for the purpose of emigration; how do you think those funds ought to be applied?—Two methods have been suggested; viz., that the proceeds of those fund

funds should be applied through the poor law agency, or that they should be applied through the proprietors. A. de Ferré, Esq.

5674. Have you seen the Minister's proposition for assisting emigration by means of the poor law?—I have seen it with great pleasure, so far as it seems to recognise the great importance of that question. The Government proposition would allow an eighth part of the poor-law poundage to be devoted to that purpose; but it does not appear to me adapted to produce the result intended, because the half-crown rate which it places at the disposal of the guardians for the purpose of emigration, would be a rate supplemental to the rate raised for the immediate support of the poor; and as in the most distressed parts of Ireland they are unable to raise sufficient rates, *a fortiori* they would be unwilling to undertake to raise a half-crown rate for a prospective object. It would therefore work only in those parts of Ireland in which the pauperism is not severe, and in which the rates are not high, affording little or no assistance to the parts of Ireland that require assistance.

5675. From your last two answers I understand, that whether the funds were intended to be applied by the Boards of Guardians or the proprietors, you consider it would be necessary that there should be a loan made with a view to the emigration of the whole number whom it would be desirable to remove?—A loan should, I think, be made for that purpose; and if that loan were sufficient to remove the whole number of persons redundant in the distressed districts, the advantage would be very great; for it is to be observed, that a small redundant population may have the same effect in decreasing wages as a large one, the object being to raise wages, and assist the poor man to obtain a livelihood.

5676. Do not you think that the removal of a small number would frequently have the effect of raising wages?—In many cases it would, because a small number as much as a large number, by creating a redundancy of labour, will decrease the value of labour.

5677. In point of fact, a small glut of labour in the market has the same effect as a glut of any other article in decreasing its value?—It has the effect of diminishing its value to an indefinite extent.

5678. Have you formed any conclusion as to the area of Ireland which requires to be assisted with loans for the purpose of emigration?—It would be impossible to answer that. In the first place, we do not know at the present time to what degree the pressure exists in every part of Ireland. And it is to be observed also that the answer to such a question would depend mainly upon another question, such as the measures taken to promote the prosperity of Ireland in the course of the next few years, and the introduction of capital there. The more capital is introduced into Ireland, the smaller will be the number of persons whose emigration will be necessary. It is impossible therefore to calculate the exact number who are redundant, but it must be very large.

5679. Are you not aware that there are only 42 unions in Ireland in which the average rate for the last year exceeded 3s. in the pound?—I believe that is so.

5680. That would be an element to assist you to come to a conclusion upon the subject?—Yes, it would be an important element: it is of course the south and west of Ireland which requires assisted emigration.

5681. Would not State interference for the purpose of emigration be inconsistent with the *laissez faire* system which has been so often advocated by political economists?—Some of the most eminent political economists, Mr. Mill among the rest, have carefully distinguished between those cases in which State interference is advisable and those in which it is reprehensible; and emigration is specified by Mr. Mill, in his recent work, as a measure to be carried out by Government interference. But if the *laissez faire* is to be considered as the correct principle, that principle has not been adopted in Ireland; for the adoption of it would have left the people to starve. I am very glad that principle was not adopted; but the Poor-law Extension Act was passed, and at this time is producing very important effects; in many respects very bad. It is exhausting the capital of the country, ruining proprietors, and reducing the land to waste in a very rapid manner. Therefore if we were to reject remedial measures on the ground of the *laissez faire* principle, I should say it was one of the most one-sided illustrations of that principle that has ever been known.

5682. Do you conceive that loans being granted in the way you suggest for emigration would check the exertions now made by emigrants and their friends

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in the colonies?—That would depend entirely on the manner in which the loans are applied; I can imagine their being so misapplied as to produce that effect, but if they were rightly applied they would, I think, produce the opposite. What I should consider a right administration of them would be to apply them supplementally, and proportionally to the funds provided by individuals on their own account. If a poor man emigrates from Ireland to America, or our own colonies, he is able to send back, in the course of one year, as much as will bring over two members of his family; if you were in that case to assist him by enabling him to bring over three instead of two, you would stimulate him to send over the funds requisite for two. It is also to be observed, that the first man may not in the first instance have the means of going; therefore, if you advance money to send over that one as a pioneer, you will virtually send over the whole of his family. I should observe also, that if by employing these loans in aid of the funds contributed by individuals, and not instead of them, you reduce very materially the expense of freight; you thereby throw open emigration to a much wider circle of society, because the number of people in Ireland who can pay 2*l.* for freight is perhaps three or four times as large as the number who could pay 4*l.* Therefore, if the aid given is proportional to the efforts made by individuals on their own account, it will have the effect of increasing those efforts, and not of decreasing them.

5683. It will not only widen the circle, but bring within it those very persons whom it is desirable to assist to emigrate?—That is a very important consideration. One of the great evils we have at present to contend with is, that the emigration going on is an emigration which does us a vast deal of harm as well as good: I cannot say whether it does us most harm or good. The emigrants in numberless cases now are capitalists. I have been told by a gentleman who had a knowledge of the fact, that he was informed by a single house in Dublin that it has this year been transmitting at the rate of 25,000*l.* a year for emigrants to America, in addition to all the money which they took out with them.

5684. Mr. Bright.] Can you form an average estimate as to the number of persons to whom that 25,000*l.* was transmitted?—No, but it was from one house in Dublin alone; the rate at which this one house has been sending money was 25,000*l.* a year. It is notorious that the emigration in this year has consisted, to a very great degree, of the emigration of farmers and capitalists; as is testified by the eighth series of papers referring to the distress in Ireland. I have references to the passages in which those instances are mentioned. It will be observed that it is not only in the 21 most distressed unions that they occur. With reference to the Union of Castlebar, the temporary inspector states, "The arrears given in almost every case are accumulations of arrears of rent, consequent upon ejections, emigration, and in some cases voluntary surrender of the land, from inability to till it or subsist." In the report of the vice-guardians of the Westport Union they state, "It is generally conjectured that many of the smaller ratepayers are reserving any means in their possession to enable them to emigrate with their families, a disposition for which is becoming universal." In the report of the vice-guardians of the Gort Union it is stated, "We may be pardoned for directing particular attention to this subject, as we are led to believe that emigration of this description (that is, by the head of the family) will be very general during the ensuing spring, and will result in most cases in the wives and families of the emigrants becoming recipients of relief." The vice-guardians of the Mohill Union in their report state, "The chief obstacles to the collection of additional rates beyond those contemplated would probably be, that the attempt at the further withdrawal of the little capital the farmers still possess would excite extreme opposition, perhaps preventing, without great difficulty, the collection of any rates; cause them to till their land for the ensuing season still more defectively than hitherto, and thereby diminish employment and production; would probably render them hopeless as to struggling through the present crisis; increase the tendency to emigration amongst those that constitute the strength of the country, which the low price land is given at, to procure money for this purpose, shows to be now great; increase the waste lands, the chief cause of so much of the last rate being incapable of collection; deter landlords from taking up unoccupied lands, or tenants from resting them, and thus limiting the property available for rating, eventually reduce the surface for taxation ruinously to those still possessing any means." In the report of the vice-guardians of the Union of Carrick-on-Shannon it is stated, "We are of opinion a great

a great deal of this poverty is attributable to the emigration of that class of farmers holding from 10 to 20 acres of land." With reference to the Longford Union, the vice-guardians state, "The provident and energetic farmer having, in very many instances, emigrated, sad a less worthy class, to avoid the threatening of inevitable ruin, have absconded, many with their families and as much of the rent as they were able to retain in their hands, whilst others, still worse, leaving families in possession, to keep the grounds waste or to be supported by the rates." The temporary inspector of the Kells Union in his report states, "They are hoarding and holding on, to see what is to be done for them, and, as a last resource, throw up and emigrate. This will, at all events, impede agricultural pursuits." The vice-guardians of the Kilkenny Union in their report state, "Many of a respectable and comfortable farmer class are, we are credibly informed, preparing to leave the country in the coming spring; and that the smaller class of farmer has, for some months past, disemployed the farm servants usually kept (if but for their food), and will, in their present circumstances, till their holdings without aid from the labourer." With reference to the Thurles Union, the temporary inspector in his report states, "Emigration upon an extensive scale is also going on on the part of the farmers who have still sufficient left to carry them away; and it must be considered as a further proof that they have nothing to hope for in remaining." The temporary inspector and the vice-guardians of the Scariff Union state in their report, "Want of employment is the precise cause of the destitution existing in this union; nor is there any prospect of employment being given. Add to this the number of evictions which have taken place, and the numbers of people, heads of families, who are every day leaving the country, emigrating to America, taking away all their means and leaving their families chargeable on the union." The temporary inspector in the Ennis Union in his report states, "I consider the means of all classes in the Ennis Union seriously deteriorated by the agency of the famine, except those having property not connected with land; that is, money in the funds, in railway shares, &c. This is proved by the extensive surrender of farms to landowners; by many farmers, with ample means, going to America or elsewhere, leaving obligations unpaid." With reference to the Newcastle Union the vice-guardians in their report state, "Those among the farmers, as well as the small holders, and many, very many among the labourers, who were able during the course of the year to dispose of their holdings or other property, and supply themselves with ready money, have all emigrated." * * * This general migration is attributed to the fear which possesses them that all their means will be swamped from the various cesses, rates and taxes, now in process of collection." The temporary inspector of the Macroom Union states in his report, "The poverty of the Macroom Union may be attributed to the depreciation in the price of corn and cattle, the loss of the potato crop, and the departure of many comfortable farmers for America." And with reference to the Union of Fermoy, the temporary inspector in his report states, "That the means of the proprietors and occupiers are nearly exhausted, and likely soon to be almost entirely so, is proved by various circumstances, amongst which are the following; viz., a great deal of land is left wholly waste, the tenants having deserted them and gone to America; upon a proportion of the remaining lands very little preparation has been made for tilling or sowing the ground; some of the farmers have scarcely produce enough left for seed."

5685. Mr. Monnell.] You stated that one house in Dublin had sent out for emigrants in bills 25,000 £; are you not aware that the emigrants took a large quantity of money in gold?—Yes.

5686. Do you recollect the case of the "Ocean Monarch," and the quantity of money that was taken out?—I cannot remember it at this moment, but I have heard it.

5687. Supposing this emigration to be carried out in the way you suggest, do you think that the vacuum so created would be filled up by the same class of persons as you are now desirous to assist to emigrate?—I should be very sorry to think that the population would not, at a later period, be as large and larger than it is now, because I have no doubt that the industrial resources of Ireland are capable, if fully developed, of supporting a larger number; but I think the vacuum would not be filled up very rapidly, and that it would never be filled up by the same class of persons. In the first place, we have learned a very important lesson from the past; moreover the system of emigration I have alluded to is one which would make every proprietor and farmer pay in proportion as he was benefited. The

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money would, in the first place, come from Ireland; and in the next place, it would be advanced to the proprietor as a loan, or as a proportionate contribution; and of course he would be very unwilling to allow the same state of things to recur with the prospect of having to pay it over again. We should eventually support a larger population in comfort than that which at present drags on a miserable existence.

5688. In point of fact, might you not say with truth that almost every proprietor and farmer in Ireland is fully alive to the difficulties created by over-population?—I think so.

5689. You contemplate the necessity of all emigrants who are assisted being carefully selected?—Yes.

5690. Could this effect be realized with the present machinery for the purpose of emigration, and with the Emigration Commissioners who sit in London?—I believe the present agency is very efficient for the purposes for which it was intended, but of course it is not commensurate with the system that I have been referring to. We should require a separate agency in Ireland, though perhaps connected with that which exists in England; we should have emigration ports, such as Cork and Belfast, instead of sending Irish emigrants to Plymouth, in order that they may proceed from thence to Australia.

5691. Do you know what expense is entailed on emigrants from the part of Ireland in which you live, by the necessity of going to Plymouth?—I think it costs them about a pound; I am pretty sure it is not less.

5692. *Sir R. Ferguson.* Are you aware what is the relative cost of the passage to Plymouth, and the value of the clothes that the emigrants take with them, compared to the cost of the passage to America?—It is so high that very little money is saved by what is called "free emigration" to Australia; it costs somewhere about the same sum.

5693. *Mr. Mowell.* Is it the class, or the number of emigrants, which would be altered by cheapening the passage in the way you suggest?—It is both the class and the number. If you made emigration cheaper by defraying a portion of the expense, you would extend emigration to persons who could pay 2*l.* instead of 4*l.* That would be at once a far larger class, and the class which cannot procure a subsistence in Ireland.

5694. You have stated already, generally, your opinion with reference to the necessity of assisted emigration from Ireland at present; will you be good enough to state what the grounds are upon which you conceive that this assisted emigration is necessary?—Those grounds are very various. I will state them as briefly as I can, without entering upon minute details. I need hardly observe that the great mass of the Irish people have hitherto been maintained by the potato system of agriculture. It has been calculated that about 2,000,000 of acres were under that crop, which has now failed. The quantity of human food produced by a certain space of ground cultivated with potatoes is supposed to be three times as great as the same space would produce if cultivated with oats; so that those 2,000,000 acres of potatoes would be equal to 6,000,000 acres of oats. Of course we cannot create 4,000,000 of acres, to replace what we have lost. Another reason is, that the potato having failed, we must resort to a new and higher system of agriculture; that system will consist of corn, and the cultivation of green crops; but one of the first things necessary for such agriculture is manure. Now, in losing the potato the Irish peasant has lost the pig; the pig was supported by the potato; the manure was connected with the pig; consequently our facilities for corn cultivation have been diminished in proportion. Another very important reason is this: a good system of cultivation would require large farms; at least much larger farms than we have hitherto possessed. I do not allude to the English farming system; I do not suppose it would be necessary that we should resort to anything like that; but it would be necessary that we should have larger holdings than we have hitherto had. Mr. Blacker, who has till lately been a great advocate for small farms, has stated, that now we have lost the potato, those who formerly lived on five acres cannot without the potato crop live and pay rent upon a tenement less than 10 acres. The opinion of Mr. Kincaid, who is connected with one of the first agency houses in Ireland, is, that the smallest holding should not be less than one of 20*l.* valuation. It is almost universally admitted that we can hardly expect to get on unless our smallest holdings are at least 12 or 15 acres in size, and that it is very desirable that they should be much larger. The number of holdings in Ireland under five acres

amounted,

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amounted, according to the Poor-law Commissioners' Return, to 317,264, being more than one-third of the holdings in Ireland; and the number under 10 acres included more than half the holdings in Ireland. It is absolutely necessary therefore to enlarge the holdings; while, on the other hand, if those persons who have hitherto been supported by their small holdings are thrown upon the labour market, that market being already overstocked, they will only add to its depression. Another very important consideration is this, that the potato in Ireland not only was the food of the labourer, but also constituted to a very great extent the agricultural currency of the country. There was very little money payment in Ireland; the farmers were in the habit of paying wages in potatoes, according to the well-known *conacre* system; the potato having failed, it is necessary for them henceforward to pay wages in money; but they are not capitalists; and therefore, so far from being able to give more employment than they have hitherto given, they are unable to give as much. We find this proved by the fact, that farmers who formerly employed two or three labourers now engage but one, and many who kept one servant boy now do the work themselves. Another demonstration that an improved system of agriculture requires a diminished population, is to be found by referring to the agricultural statistics of England and Ireland. The number of labourers in Ireland, as compared with the number in England, has hitherto stood in the proportion of five to two, comparing them with reference to the extent of land under cultivation; while if you compare them with reference to the quantity of produce raised, the proportion becomes as four to one; a fact which is proved by comparing the estimated annual value of the agricultural produce of England with that of the agricultural produce of Ireland, and comparing each with the number of labourers in England and Ireland. The number of agricultural labourers in England was estimated in 1831 to be 1,055,982, whereas the agricultural labourers in Ireland were at the same time estimated at 1,131,715; and the agricultural produce in England was computed to be worth about 150,000,000 £ a year, whereas the agricultural produce of Ireland was calculated at only 36,000,000 £ a year, being less than a fourth part of the former. Another fact which I should mention is, that it has been computed that in ordinary times the Irish labourer had employment for hire only for 135 days in a year. How did he subsist during the remainder of the year? He had some little spot of land, perhaps two or three acres; he lived partly by labour and partly by that small holding. If he had not any holding, he took *conacre*; but he was only employed for hire on the average for 135 days in the year; or (taking into account the period during which he found employment on his own small holding or *conacre*), for 166 days. So that if you compare the agricultural wages paid in Ireland with the number of labourers in Ireland, it appears that the Irish labourers did not earn on an average more than 2s. 3d. a week previous to the potato failure. The potato having failed, there is nothing now to make up the difference between 2s. 3d. a week and what is absolutely necessary for support. It is therefore necessary that they should find *bond fide* labour, not for 132 or 166 days in the year, but for the greater part of the year, or they will be unable to procure subsistence. Before I leave this subject, I may be allowed to mention another important fact. It is found that the parts of the country in which the population increases most rapidly are those in which the houses are the worst. The houses of Ireland have been divided into four classes, and it has been observed that in those districts in which the fourth, the worst class of houses, predominate, the population increases almost rapidly, extreme paucity and the absence of anything like a social position producing recklessness and improvident marriages. Thus while between 1821 and 1831 the increase of population was in Ulster 14 per cent. and in Leinster nine per cent., in Munster it was 15, and in Connaught 21 per cent. It is therefore by diminishing the number of those who occupy the worst class of houses, that we may prevent an immediate increase of the population, supposing the potato to return. Again, one of the things most adverse to the introduction of capital into Ireland is that lawlessness produced by over-population; and if you can reduce the population to the number which can earn a certain subsistence, you can more effectually secure the observance of the law, and capital will more easily find its way into Ireland. It must be remembered that in Ireland we have to take, at the same time, two steps, which are both taken in the progress of civilisation, but not often at the same time. We have to advance from a lower to a higher species of food, namely, from potato food to corn food; and we have, at the same time, to advance from the truck system to a system of wages. A single illustration may

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may throw light on this subject of population. A very large proportion of our population, perhaps not less than two millions, have been supported, not by wages, but by the potato. What would be the effect in England if that very large number of people who are supported by manufactures were to find the manufactures fail them? Would any one say that by means of the poor law, or any other machinery, the employers of labour could be "stimulated" to employ the number of people who had previously been supported by manufactures? It would be obvious that the ground had been cut from under their feet. We are placed in the same position relatively to our redundant population, by the failure of the potato in Ireland.

5695. You have often used the term in your answers, "Agricultural labourers;" you include in that all cottiers and those who have been in the habit of paying rent for land by labour?—Yes, I include those quasi labourers who live partly by the piece of land they hold, or partly by conacre and partly by their labour. That labour has by no means been cheap; though the rate of wages has been very low, the labourers have not given an adequate return even for the low wages received; which I think will be always the case where there is a very great superabundance of population, because they will feel it necessary to divide among 100 people the labour which is but sufficient to occupy 50. The effect of such a superabundance is, that the principle of concivance supersedes the principle of competition among the labouring class.

5695*. In Ireland, and all other countries similarly situated, I believe it is notoriously the fact that serf labour, such as the labour in Ireland practically was during the continuance of the potato, has been found to be dear labour?—In Russia serf labour is said to be twice as expensive as that of the English labourer; and to Austria the same observation applies. Pauper labour practically amounts to serf labour.

5696. You stated that your view was, that though it was necessary to increase the size of the farms in Ireland, you did not contemplate introducing what are generally termed large farms?—That is at present, I think, wholly impracticable in Ireland; for this reason, namely, that the size of the farm must be proportionate to the capital invested in it. In England a farmer is supposed to require 10 l. an acre to work his farm; in Ireland large capitalists do not exist, nor I do not see any reason why our farmers should wish to have such large farms as there are in England.

5697. Is it not essential to the carrying out of the system of large farms that the farmers should have a large amount of capital to begin with?—Yes. Small farms also, to be rightly cultivated, require considerable capital, though not capital held in such large accumulations. The Belgian system, which consists of small farms, though much larger than the small holdings in Ireland, is rendered practicable by these circumstances. Belgium is a manufacturing country, abounding with large towns and with good markets; and we all know that manufacturing capital finds its way very rapidly into agriculture. Secondly, small farms are practicable where you have green crops; but in order to grow green crops you require manure, and in order to obtain manure you require cattle. The Belgian farmer possesses these, and has possessed them for a long time. The Irish farmer is without them; and it would be enthusiasm to suppose that half a million of occupiers can find themselves all at once possessed of the capital and the science required for a system rather horticultural than agricultural.

5698. Are you aware that the average size of a Belgian farm is about 15 acres?—I was not aware that it was so large.

5699. Do any other evils arise from over-population in Ireland besides the evils that it produces as to agriculture?—Those evils which relate to the social and political, as well as economical state of Ireland, especially that insubordination and disaffection which we deplore. In no country are the people contented where they have not the means of comfortable existence.

5700. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Do not you trace the agrarian crimes in Ireland to over-population?—The struggle for land in Ireland was like the struggle of two men for one plank in a case of shipwreck; but I have not dwelt on that circumstance, because the desire for land has very much diminished in consequence of the fall in its value.

5701. Mr. Mousell.] Do not you conceive it to be of very great importance that the assistance which you recommend to be given to emigration should be given as quickly as possible, and that any delay increases greatly the evils you have to deal with?—Undoubtedly; the number of paupers is increasing daily, and

and the means by which the people can themselves carry on emigration are daily diminishing. The answer I made when asked whether there were not parts of Connaught in which the population is too small, relatively to a thorough cultivation of the land, applies to the whole of Ireland. If emigration be delayed too long, we may expect to see in other parts of Ireland a population redundant relatively to the capital existing for their employment, and yet too small relatively to good agriculture. If ever that case should become general, no cure will remain.

5702. Your last answer explains the reason why you think emigration ought to be a national work, and that no part of Ireland could fairly complain of being taxed for the assistance of emigration?—It ought to be a national work, both on the grounds of justice and expediency. The nation at large gains by emigration; the nation at large escapes very great evils by emigration; therefore I think the nation should take care that the emigration be sound in quality, and sufficient in quantity. It gains new markets for its manufactures; cheaper imports; and an extension to its empire. The evils from which it is saved by emigration are very numerous; for instance, a continual diminution of the Irish revenue is a thing that you must look to of course, if pauperism is allowed to go on increasing; and the quantity of English manufactures consumed in Ireland must of course diminish proportionately as destitution increases. The Irish property spent in England, both mortgage and absentee property, is of considerable amount, and will diminish as pauperism increases in Ireland. But above all, England would be thus preserved from the great loss entailed on her by that migration of Irish labourers into England, which tends to reduce the condition of the English to the level of the Irish labourer. In all these respects it seems to me that the British nation gains by emigration, and that therefore emigration should, in justice, be a national work. But there are other reasons also. If emigration is to be a large work it will require a combination of home and colonial agency, and also of home and colonial funds, which cannot be effected without a national organization and direction. Again, it will require the undertaking of large public works in the colonies; it may require the formation of new settlements there; and these enterprises are carried out slowly and imperfectly by individual exertions alone. In other words, a system of emigration to be very large must be national. But there are other reasons of a moral character, to which I attach yet more importance. I should not be an advocate for emigration if I did not think it contributed to the moral as well as the physical wellbeing of those who emigrated; their moral wellbeing requires absolutely that there should be an ample provision for education, and for the religious instruction of the new settlers; and such a provision implies a national superintendence. Emigration should also not imply a disruption of all natural ties; and therefore should consist of families, as far as possible. I should think also that if colonization be taken up as a national work, and if such provisions be made, we may expect to see persons in the higher as well as in the lower ranks of society, emigrate; in other words, we may expect to find all the grades of society that exist at home represented in the colonies. For all these reasons, I think it just and expedient that emigration should be a national work.

5703. Do you not conceive that at the present moment there is a great desire in Ireland, not only among the lower, but among the higher classes, to go out as emigrants?—I am sure that the desire exists very much in Ireland; no doubt it exists in England to a considerable, though not to the same degree. All the departments of life are overstocked; but the higher classes are deterred, to a great extent, from emigrating, because when they reach the colonies they do not find such a system of society as they can enjoy or approve. If they do not find a provision for the education of their children, for religion, for law, and for civilization, they will not emigrate. The political condition of the colonies will thus be proportionally affected. It is commonly said that self-government is to be wished for in colonies. I do not enter into that question; but whether they are capable of self-government or not, will depend upon the class of people who emigrate. If none but convicts, paupers, or adventurers, emigrate, you have not the materials, and cannot expect the advantages of self-government; you must have the upper classes for that purpose.

5704. You spoke of the effect that you expected emigration to produce upon the improvement of Irish agriculture; has the experiment been tested?—Yes, it has been tested on the estates I mentioned,—Lord Palmerston's, Sir Robert Gore Booth's, Mr. Spaight's, and many others. My brother has promoted emigration

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as far as he could. I had a letter this day, stating that during last year and this year he has enabled about 150 people to emigrate from the part of his property on which he resides, and that he would have enabled a very much larger number to emigrate if the means at his disposal had not been decreased by the payment of rates; and I can testify to the fact that his estate has been improved by that emigration, and that the emigrants have prospered.

5705. What effect has that partial emigration had upon wages?—It has not raised the wages, because it has not been sufficient to prevent the existence of a redundancy of population.

5706. If the emigration had been to a larger extent, what power would there have been of preventing people from the neighbourhood coming in?—All classes would have opposed their settling where no employment exists for them. But I will not undertake to say that no new settlers would have intruded themselves. That is an argument in favour of a general system of emigration, since it shows that local efforts are not sufficient.

5707. But I presume that none of the houses which were occupied by any of the people who have emigrated are now standing?—Certainly not.

5708. It sometimes has been urged that the poor law and emigration are antagonistic measures; is it your opinion that that is a just conclusion?—So far from regarding them as antagonistic, I regard the poor law and emigration as correlative measures. When the poor law was introduced, Mr. Nicholls and the statesmen who advocated it expressed themselves to this effect, that it could not be in itself sufficient, and that they regarded emigration likewise as necessary. If that was their opinion when no famine existed, I need not say that emigration is still more necessary than it was then. When I say that the two things are correlative, I will take this illustration: in order to raise the rate, it is absolutely necessary that the land should be well cultivated; it is therefore necessary that a person who holds a very small piece of land (say three or four acres), and who is reduced to such destitution that he cannot possibly cultivate that land, should surrender it. If he surrender it (and thousands are doing so voluntarily), it is surely much better for him to prosper as a colonist, than to hang on the outskirts of society, a pauper at home.

5709. Have you any information as to the capability of the colonies at present for absorbing the number which you think ought to be assisted to emigrate?—I cannot say whether the colonies are capable of absorbing the number or not. In 1847 one of my brothers went to Canada for the purpose of acquiring information on the spot upon the subject of emigration. He was then informed, by persons connected with the emigration department in Canada, that the whole number who emigrated thither from Ireland in 1847 would have been absorbed by the labour market of Canada if it had not been for the fever. I do not take upon me to say that because they could have been absorbed for one year, the same number could be absorbed for four or five years, however distributed: on the contrary, I should suppose, that in order to enable the colonies to receive the emigrants that may be sent out, it would be necessary to form new settlements, or to undertake public works in those colonies. As far as Ireland is concerned, of course it does not signify whether our emigrants go to the United States or to the colonies. There is an enormous labour market in the United States; one would prefer of course that they should go to our colonies rather than to foreign states, which may be at any time adverse; but in that case we should be prepared to undertake public works, or found new settlements in those colonies, if necessary.

5710. When you spoke of your brother, you referred to Mr. Stephen de Vere?—Yes.

5711. Will you mention the circumstances under which he went out?—He had always devoted himself much to the improvement of the condition of the poor in our neighbourhood; and as soon as the potato failure occurred, he made up his mind that all methods of promoting their welfare or saving them from destruction would be vain, except emigration; therefore he went to Canada, in order to study the subject on the spot, and to ascertain from persons connected with the colonies how emigration could be increased or expedited.

5712. How did he go?—He went as a steerage passenger. Among the subjects upon which he wished to acquire information, one was the state of the emigrant during his passage, and the degree in which the Passenger Act was effectual for his protection;

protection; and in order to ascertain that more correctly than he could otherwise have done, he went as a storage passenger.

5713. He went out without letting anybody know to what class of society he belonged?—I believe so.

5714. Have you any doubt that an extensive system of emigration could be connected with our colonies, by making proper arrangements there?—No doubt whatever. Not to refer to the Halifax and Quebec Railway, the making of which would employ annually multitudes of emigrants, beside connecting our American colonies, furnishing an outlet for their produce, and opening out millions of acres, now neglected, there are a great number of public works in the colonies which have been referred to by various colonial witnesses who were examined before the Committee of the House of Lords on the subject of Colonisation; I have selected a few passages, which I hold in my hand.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which are as follow:]

The following Extracts from the Evidence given before the Colonization Committee of the House of Lords illustrate the subject of Public Works required and wished for in the Colonies, beside the Railway from Halifax to Quebec.

G. Peabertie examined, page 94, Evidence of 1847.

941. From your knowledge of this country, is there any part of Upper Canada where any great public work could be undertaken with advantage to those who might undertake it, and which would be also of advantage to the province itself?—There are several works which I think would prove profitable both to the province and as a private speculation, but you would find some difficulty in getting private speculators to take them up. They would be of immense advantage to the province if encouraged by public assistance to make them. There is one, a railroad from Kingston to Lake Huron; that is one which has been proposed, but as a speculation it is beyond the means of private individuals.

942. Could you state the difference in the distance between Kingston and the waters of the Georgian Bay, in Lake Huron, by any railroad that could be constructed there, and the present water communication?—I think it would be a difference of about 1,600 miles.

Commander C. Robidge, R. N., is examined, page 275, Evidence of 1847.

2604. Have roads been made through the district for the most part?—Yes, they have been made, but from their bad construction, being merely the soil thrown up, they become nearly impassable every spring and autumn. A railroad leading from the town of Peterborough to Lake Ontario, a distance of 90 miles, would immediately triple the amount of exports from the district. The people have lately held meetings to raise stock for this purpose; but, unaided, I fear there is little hope of success; they would be very willing to submit to a tax to gradually repay the interest, and, at a given time, the principal of a loan.

The same Witness states, in pages 264-5.

2773. Taking the Dummer settlement as an example; would not your operations have been greatly promoted, and the success of the settlement facilitated, if you had found the roads already made, so as to give access to the lands upon which you proposed to fix the people?—Unquestionably; but the roads which I propose first to make are just the common sleigh track or road, over which carriages can be got with tolerable ease.

2782. Has there been any public work contemplated giving communication to Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay in Lake Huron, so as to avoid the present enormous and dangerous navigation?—There is an Act passed for a railway from Toronto to Georgian Bay. There is another Act passed for a railway from Hamilton to the same spot, and they would join each other at Stratford.

2783. Is it to be executed by a company or by the Government?—It is intended to be executed by a company, but they have not been able to raise the funds. I believe the people of Toronto had a meeting very lately, and they are about petitioning the Government to guarantee a loan, with the intention of employing the emigrants that may be sent out.

The Reverend J. D. Long, examined, pages 333-4, Evidence of 1848.

Yes: there is a tract of land peculiarly available for such a purpose, extending to the westward from the head of the western arm of Port Phillip. The seaport town in that locality is called Geelong, a very thriving place. There is a tract of land extending west from Geelong, across the boundary of South Australia, about 200 miles in length, with an average breadth of 25 miles, which is generally considered equal to any land in Great Britain,

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Britain; it is capable of producing crops of grain, and all the other productions that are suitable to the climate, equally with the best land in this island. It is capable of sustaining as dense a population as any part of Great Britain.

2447. What area in acres do you suppose that district to be?—That great block of land comprises about 3,200,000 acres in one continuous stretch.

The result was, that a public meeting was held in the town of Geelong, at which resolutions were passed for the appointment of a committee to examine the capabilities of the country, and to report; and that committee gave in their report, which was favourable to a second public meeting, which was held in July 1846, and by which I was specially authorized and requested to bring the subject under the consideration both of the Government and of the public at home, in order to have the idea carried out which I had put forward, principally for the settlement of the country. This was, that a tramroad should be constructed of the indigenous timber of the country along the centre of the plains, that the land on either side of it should be acquired from Government, and sold in farms of 100 acres each to an agricultural free emigrant population, and that a company should be established at home for carrying out the object. I will, with the permission of the Committee, deliver in a copy of a paper containing the proceedings of the public meeting on the occasion to which I refer, with the report of the committee.

The following Statement with respect to New Brunswick is made by T. Baillie, Surveyor-general.—(Page 8, Emigration Papers, July 1848.)

The tract of country of which I have now been writing is in much need of roads, and without which many years must elapse before it can be advantageously settled; yet with our present system of disposing of the Crown lands, divested as the Executive Government is of all power of opening the country by the formation of roads, it is impossible to say when this or any other tract of land can be rendered fit for the habitation of civilized man.

W. Bradley, Esq., examined, page 357, Evidence of 1847.

2429. In the more distant parts of Sydney is there not a want felt from the state of the roads of communications and means of access to the port and to the capital, and is there consequently a diminished value of agricultural produce in the interior?—There is. The roads in the colony are in a bad state generally. There is no country in the world that is so badly off for roads, especially as there are no navigable rivers in the colony; and the means of transport are very difficult and very expensive.

2430. Supposing that emigration were carried on at any particular time beyond the power of immediate absorption in the colony itself, would there be any difficulty of applying the labour of such emigrants profitably in improving the communications and means of transit?—No; they might be very profitably employed upon the roads very much to the benefit of the colony.

2431. Do you think that such employment of the labour of the emigrants would have an immediate tendency to give increased value to unoccupied lands towards or through which such new communications were made?—There is no doubt that it would; and I am confident that if sufficient labour could be obtained in the colony, railways would be commenced almost immediately.

Mr. Stephen Hale Morsk examined on the subject of the Railway from Sydney to Goulburn, page 250-1, Evidence of 1848.

2374. How could it be executed in a manner that would at once conduce to the benefits of the traffic without requiring so large an expenditure?—With the permission of the Committee I will state shortly some ideas that occurred to me upon this matter. The Committee are aware that since the price of land has been raised to 1 l. an acre, the Government sales have fallen from 200,000 l. in a year down to about 7,000 l. It is universally admitted that only by the introduction of a cheap and economical railway communication can we take advantage of the vast and magnificent districts lately discovered by my esteemed friend Dr. Leichardt, and Sir Thomas Mitchell, or that many valuable resources of the settled part of the colony (such as the part now contemplated in the direction of Goulburn) can be made available; such means of communication are indispensably necessary, in consequence of Australia not having the advantages of river and canal navigation as they have in the United States and the Canadas. I am of opinion that the Government of this country have it in their power to offer such inducements for the employment of capital and labour, and the relief of the superabundant population of the United Kingdom of every class; for I conceive, and I think it will be allowed, that it is not merely the lower orders, but every class of society here which press upon each other, and require a field to employ their energies and various talents upon. The plan I have the honour to suggest would set at rest the continual discussions relative to the price of land. I therefore respectfully propose, in order to carry such a desirable object into effect, that Her Majesty's Government should grant to individuals, land equivalent to the amount of shares subscribed for by them at the minimum price per acre.

2375. That

2574. That is 1*l.* per acre?—Yes. Means would thus be readily obtained for the continued formation of railroads in Australia. It is only by combining the two interests, namely, the possession of land with facility of communication, that the former can be desirable or the latter, even to any extent, carried into effect. These combined interests would offer very great inducements to thousands of small capitalists, and to the middle and upper classes of society here, by affording the means of acquiring, by easy instalments, landed property.

5715. Has a desire been expressed on the part of the colonies for more labour?—No one can read the colonial papers without perceiving that it is their constant cry, especially in the Australian colonies. Eight hundred thousand sheep were holed down into tallow during 1847, in Australia, for want of shepherds; and not only has convict labour been at times demanded, but the introduction of labourers from China or the Polynesian Islands has been frequently proposed. But it should be observed, that though the colonies express most urgently their desire for increased labour, they remind us that it is quite possible to produce a temporary and local glut in the labour market, unless you adopt means at the same time for distributing the colonists introduced; they have therefore suggested means for that purpose.

5716. Have the colonies expressed a desire for any system of combined home and local agency and funds?—Yes; that desire was expressed by most of the witnesses examined before the Committee of the House of Lords, persons who have had long experience upon the subject, and whose interests are bound up with the colonies. I have extracts, also, upon that subject.

[*The Witness delivered in the same, which are as follow:*]

On the necessity of a combined home and colonial agency, *W. Fernald, esq.* states—

3899. Do you think that the establishment of a public office at Sydney, at which every party requiring labour, whether in the town or in the interior, of any description, would have the power of registering his application, and at which every emigrant seeking for employment could learn without delay where his labour was needed, would have an effect in diminishing the chances of casualties such as you have described?—Unquestionably. Such an arrangement would be essentially necessary should emigration be carried on to any extent. That is really what is wanting in the colony.

3900. When the former excess of emigration took place did the surplus labour long exist as an inconvenience, or was it not speedily and fully absorbed in the labour market of the colony?—Of course it was, as is shown by the very high rate of wages at present.

The same necessity is asserted in the following extract from a memorial to Lord Grey, addressed from South Australia.

It has been reported to your memorialists that difficulty has been experienced in procuring suitable persons for free emigration to this province. They believe that this difficulty arises from the fact that hitherto all the emigrant vessels have been despatched from the ports of London and Plymouth, and the great expenses attendant upon going to these ports for embarkation, prevent many persons from other parts of the kingdom offering themselves for emigration.

Your memorialists are informed by their private correspondents that there are many persons of the description best suited for the colony to be met with in many parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who are very anxious to procure the advantages of a passage to this province, and beg respectfully to point out the advantages to be derived from despatching vessels from various other ports, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry, Belfast, &c., all of which afford great facilities for emigration.

James Mansfield, esq., speaks as follows (*Emigration Paper*, August 1846, page 46):—

In support of this proposition, it has been urged that it would afford an opportunity of testing, upon a limited scale, the advantages of another system of management, that we might have an agency completely distinct, and yet acting in concert, to a certain extent, with the Emigration Commissioners at home, and that possibly by this means arrangements might be made by the parishes throughout the United Kingdom of an advantageous nature as regards this colony, and at the same time contributing in no slight degree to the relief of the distress which unhappily prevails, more particularly in Scotland and Ireland. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark, that no importation of free labour from the United Kingdom can be carried on by individuals on their own account, and with private capital. It is impossible to secure the labourer's services after his arrival in the colony.

The same gentleman states, in examination—

3901. Supposing that an auxiliary fund for emigration were provided by the classes who are interested in emigration in the home country, would that give a great stimulus and produce

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duce an enlarged desire on the part of the colonists by local funds to assist in that emigration?—It would assuredly do so.

3962. Do you not think that in some cases facilitating by guarantee the borrowing of money upon the credit of the colonial revenues would have the same tendency and effect?—It would do so, provided the money could be borrowed at such a rate of interest as the Government could command in Great Britain.

3963. The effect of the Government guarantee would of course be to give to that security the same value in the market as any other Government stock?—

That Emigration should be a National Undertaking.

S. Macarthur, Esq.—(Emigration Papers, August 1848, page 55.)

42. HAVE you ever turned your attention to the expediency of a national system of immigration, at the expense of the United Kingdom, as regards its probable effects upon the labouring class, and upon the empire generally?—My attention has been much turned to this subject. I can entertain no doubt whatever of the immense results which would follow from a judicious and properly-directed system of national immigration. Such a system could only be carried on by the Imperial Government, and from the national resources in the first instance; but the great relief that would be afforded to the labouring classes throughout the United Kingdom would, in itself, far more than compensate for the outlay, whilst the many other beneficial consequences that would flow from it are incalculable.

Mr. Merewether's evidence is to the same effect. He observes:—

(Emigration Papers, December 1847.)

I by no means undervalue the advantages derived by the mother country from a process which in a few months converts her workhouse pensioners into independent and valuable customers; but I am still not sanguine enough to expect, that from a consideration of these advantages the British public will be induced to take upon themselves the entire expense of conducting emigration to so distant a colony as this. That they may be willing to bear a portion of it, however, I do entertain a very strong hope. Not doubting, then, that but for financial considerations his Excellency would have been prepared to recommend a larger and more effective immigration than that of 5,000 statute adults, I have deemed the present a fitting occasion to suggest that Her Majesty's Government should be moved to take into consideration the expediency of establishing some organised system under which the cost of bringing emigrants hither may be divided between the mother country and the colony.

That Emigrants should consist of Families.

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498. Do you include in that older members of a family, if accompanied by able-bodied persons capable of maintaining them?—No. If there really are able-bodied persons capable of providing for all, I think that, on the contrary, it would be inhospitable to leave behind them any aged members of their family, who may have been accustomed to depend upon them for support.

499. Practically speaking, has not it been found that the presence of the father of a family, although he might be advanced in life, exercised a moral control over the other members of the family, which was a compensation for his want of vigour and activity as a labourer?—I should think the influence must be beneficial; and I have myself happened to see in Canada large families kept together around the old parents of the whole party.

Rev. J. D. Lang.

2423. Do you conceive that the emigration would be less useful to the colony, if consisting not only of able-bodied men, but of a certain proportion of women and children, which would form domestic ties, not exceeding the number that the able-bodied men could support?—By no means. Such an immigration of families would be much more valuable to the colony, and would preserve in healthful operation the moral restraints which are so important to the community.

2424. Therefore, with your acquaintance with the colony, you would by no means restrict the immigration to able-bodied labourers unaccompanied by families?—Decidedly not; such a restriction is never contemplated in the colony, the necessity for having at least an equal number of adult females being universally admitted.

2425. Is there not an advantage connected with the emigration of families, that, viewing the expense of passage-money, the emigration of young persons is less costly to the colony than that of adults, and that those young persons as they grow up become afterwards of great value to the colony?—Unquestionably. It is exceedingly valuable in a moral point of view also.

*The Necessity of a Provision for Religious Ministrations and Education in Colonies.**J. R. Godley, Esq.**A. de Ferr, Esq.*

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Reverting to the past, we are convinced that the Church of England in Virginia, the Roman-catholic in Maryland, Quakerism in Pennsylvania, and Puritanism in New England, were the principal causes respectively of the stability of society in those colonies of England, and of their wonderful advancement in material prosperity. Nay more, the student of the colonial history of England will not fail to observe that the prosperity of the old English colonies in America seems to have been in a pretty equal ratio to the influences of religion on the emigrants; the colonies in which religious provisions were neglected were the least prosperous; those in which they were more regarded were more prosperous; and the most prosperous of modern colonies, those of New England, were, in fact, Levitical communities, almost entirely governed and managed by influences of a religious kind. On the other hand, during more recent times, emigration has proceeded, and a sort of colonization has gone on, as if the work were merely economical or commercial,—as if religion were deemed of no importance to society,—as if it were deemed that a history of religion would be a history of mankind; and, at length, we have got into the habit of saying that colonization is one of the lost arts. It is on general grounds, therefore, relating to the art of colonization, as well as on the score of the peculiar dependence of the Irish Roman-catholics on their church as stay, guide, and government, that we insist on the necessity of ample religious provisions as essential to the well-doing of an Irish Roman-catholic colonization.

Mrs. Childs's evidence to the same effect :

4993. Have you known instances where this class of colonists have strikingly manifested their desire for the education of their children?—That desire is very great. It is much stronger amongst that class than it is among the better educated. On one occasion I called at a shepherd's hut,—a man whose wages were 22*l.*; the wife was a very managing woman; from being able to accommodate persons in travelling, and allowing them to sleep in the house, she made a few pounds more in the course of the year. Going to look at her premises, I found a very small hut, neatly built. I said, "What is this?" "Oh!" she replied, "that is a library; that is the place for the man we have got to teach the children. We know teachers do not like our conversation always, and they like to be quiet sometimes; and we have made him this little place for his books and for the children." They paid the teacher 8*l.* a year, although they had a large family; and then by attending other families the teacher would make a very comfortable living.

4995. You stated that there exists a desire for religious instruction?—Yes; they are very anxious for it. They often expressed themselves to me, "Education is a very good thing; but without religion I am afraid it will not do much good."

5717. An opinion has been sometimes expressed that the Irish do not make good emigrants; has the Irish emigrant usually prospered?—As far as I have had personally the means of knowing, he has prospered in almost every instance; I have known numbers of Irish emigrants; I have read their letters to their friends; and I have heard accounts of those who went from other estates with which I have no connexion; and in almost all the cases they have prospered.

5718. In what estimation is the Irish emigrant commonly held in the colonies?—I could not answer that question better than by stating, that with I think only one exception, all the witnesses coming from the colonies who were examined before the Committee of the House of Lords on the subject of Colonization, expressed themselves in high terms of the Irish emigrants. I have extracts upon that subject, which I will deliver in.

[*The Witness delivered in the same, which are as follow :*]

The following Extracts from the Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland, illustrate the question of the fitness and success of the Irish Emigrant, compared with that of Emigrants from other countries.

Mr. H. Pery, Examined. (Report for 1847.)

164. Is there any disinclination on the part of the population of New Brunswick to receive Irish emigrants?—I think I may safely say none, except a few of the old inhabitants; they sometimes express a fear that the whole of the colony may become Irish.

165. What has been the conduct of the Irish emigrants upon the whole; has it been peaceable and orderly, or the reverse?—I think I may answer that question in the affirmative. The Irish have conducted themselves very well in New Brunswick.

Mr. Uniacke, Examined. (Nova Scotia is spoken of.)

498. You have spoken of some of these emigrants being Irish; how do the Irish emigrants
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grants, generally speaking, conduct themselves in the colony?—Very well. Those who settle in the interior, who assume voluntarily forest life, and become settlers, are a remarkably well-conducted class of people. Of course among those hanging about the towns, forming a large population of Irishmen, there are some worthless, who get a worse name for the whole than they deserve.

499. In the event of the condition of the colony requiring and having the means of sustaining a larger number of emigrants than are at present introduced into a social state there, do you think there would be any objection to a considerable number of these being Irish?—I do not think there would be a provincial disaster to it. Of course there are persons in every community that have dialies. Men of very strict Protestant and Dissenting principles might object probably to an increase of the Roman-catholic population; but, generally speaking, I do not think it would be unpopular. (Page 49.)

S. Conrad, Esq., Examined. (The subject, Prince Edward's Island.)

705. Have you been able to observe any considerable difference in the conduct and progress of the emigrants from those different parts?—I think that the English farmers are the best; I think the Irish are the next, if they are from a farming district, and their children are very good. The descendants of the Irish make excellent settlers. The Scotch Highlanders are very bad settlers. If you get Lowland farmers they are very good indeed, but the Highlanders are perfectly unacquainted with farming; they are very easily satisfied; they are content with a very small clearing, and they remain so. Their views appear to be bounded by very limited desires.

706. As to orderliness and obedience to law, is there any difference between the different class of settlers?—I do not think there is.

707. In the event of circumstances enabling the colony to receive any increased number of emigrants, would there be any indisposition to receive a portion of those from Ireland?—Certainly not. There are a great many Irish there; the Irish that go out have friends in all parts of the island. (P. 74.)

G. Pemberton, Esq., Examined.

876. Are you disposed to draw any distinction in these remarks, as applicable to the emigrants from the various parts of the United Kingdom?—I do not make any, excepting so far as this, that I find the Irish are better adapted for all works requiring great strength; and not only so, but all laborious works in the United States and Canada are chiefly performed by the Irish emigrants; and so far I think they are better calculated than any other class of emigrants for settling in a new country when without the means of purchasing land. (P. 88.)

J. M. Brydson, Esq., Examined.

1317. You have no doubt they would be applicable to the agricultural work to which in Ireland they have been accustomed, spade work?—They are peculiarly calculated for the work in Canada, because in clearing land in Canada the timber is cut down in the winter; and according to the quantity of snow upon the land at the time when the trees are felled, the height of those stumps will be from three feet perhaps to four and a half feet above the ground, and those stumps would remain in the ground for five years before they could be finally removed, and perhaps some species of timber, the roots of the pine species, may remain seven years; and therefore the work which the peasantry of Ireland have been accustomed to, spade husbandry, makes them peculiarly calculated for that description of work. (P. 135.)

Note.—As farmers he thinks them much less efficient than as labourers.

Lieut.-Colonel E. Moncrieff, Examined. (Australia.)

3109. Are you acquainted with the authority and reputation acquired by Sir R. Bourke during the period of his Australian Government?—I am fully aware how much Australia is indebted to him.

3110. In his examination before a Committee of the House of Lords in the present year, having been asked with respect to the character of the Irish convicts as compared with convicts from other parts of the empire, he states that he thinks "that the usual propensities of the Irish followed them to New South Wales, but that they were esteemed to be good labourers, and they were always sought after by the owners of large estates. They were not so much sought for in towns as in the country districts, but they were certainly preferred as agricultural labourers." Does that answer given by Sir R. Bourke coincide with the information that you have obtained?—It does. I know that most valuable agricultural servants have been found amongst the Irish.

3111. Sir R. Bourke adds, in a second answer, that he has known several of the most respectable settlers desire to have Irish convicts employed upon their lands. Now if this be true with respect to the convict population, is it your opinion that it would be equally true with respect to free emigrants from Ireland?—I think so; but at the same time it is right that I should distinctly state that it would be highly advantageous for the Irish themselves if they could be intermixed with population from every part of Great Britain. (P. 323.)

W. Verner, Esq., Examined. (Australia.)

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3865. Taking into account your own experience, and also the experience which your knowledge of Sir W. Verner's property has given you, can you speak as to the character of the Irish emigrants as compared with that of emigrants from other parts of the United Kingdom?—Yes; for my own part I chiefly employed Irishmen, though I do employ Scotchmen and Englishmen likewise; and I find the Irishmen extremely useful, I should say equally useful with any other men.

3867. Have you observed the habits of the descendants of any of the Irish settlers, the Irish of the second generation; do you see a tendency to improve in them exceeding what you observed in the first settlers?—The term we apply to all here in the colony is "currency." I have never seen any difference in the habits or character of the currency people, whether born from English, Scotch, or Irish parents. (P. 392.)

A. Cunningham, Esq., Examined. (Australia.)

4174. Have you had emigrants from different parts of the United Kingdom?—Yes, from all parts.

4175. Have they all for the most part succeeded?—Yes; individuals from all parts of the United Kingdom have succeeded, no doubt, in different proportions. However, I should say, that probably the best labourers in the colony, those that all the masters would prefer to have, are the English, the Lowland Scotch, and the north of Ireland men. Of those three, probably the Englishman is the most obedient and the least troublesome, and the Lowland Scotchman is probably the most successful. He gets sooner out of the labour market into being himself a proprietor. The north of Ireland men apparently succeed well, many of them.

4176. What would you say as to the other class of Irish emigrants?—The south of Ireland men are, many of them, useful men as labourers; but not so large a number of them succeed in getting out of the labour market. They are very good labourers; but you find very few of them employed as overseers, or in situations of that kind.

4177. They have less education?—Less education; and perhaps less what we term prudence. They are, however, extremely useful men in their way. It is but fair to say that objections have been made by no small number of people in the colony with reference to the south of Ireland men, chiefly, I think, owing to their religion; and perhaps so long as Protestants and Roman-catholics are understood to be almost hostile armies arrayed against each other, it is scarcely a matter of surprise that each party should wish the fewest recruits to the number of the opposite party; otherwise they are very good labourers; and no objection would be made if they are only in fair proportion to the English and Scotch sent out. (P. 431.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. L. Mitchell, Examined. (Australia.)

242. (First Report, 1848.) Did you employ them indiscriminately, English, Scotch, and Irish, as you found them?—Yes, as I found them.

243. What report are you able to make to the Committee as to the character of the Irish labourers?—From my own experience I found them the best and the most hard-working. There were three or four Irish labourers known to me in Sydney, whom I employed when I had any very hard work to do, knowing they would give me an honest day's work, and work hard; they were very hard-working, strong men.

244. Did they realize your expectations during the time you employed them?—Always.

245. Did you find them more difficult to manage, and less controllable than other labourers?—I think they understood better what I wanted done. (P. 25.)

Mr. J. Bernard, junior, Examined.

1843. (First Report for 1848.) Was there not an engagement entered into with Mr. Dowling, of Van Diemen's Land?—Mr. Dowling, of Van Diemen's Land, was authorized by the colonists of Van Diemen's Land, with the sanction of the colonial government, to come to this country and select a certain number of emigrants.

1844. In what year was that?—I think he arrived in this country in 1840 or 1841.

1845. Did he visit Ireland, and had you any communications with him?—Yes.

1846. Will you describe those communications?—When he first arrived in England he succeeded in getting as many emigrants as filled one or two ships, but with so much trouble and expense to himself that he applied to Messrs. Carter and Bonus to know whether they would undertake to supply the difference, and they stated to him that they would, provided he sent his ships to Cork, to which he at first objected, having very candidly stated that he had a very strong prejudice to Irish emigrants.

1847. Was he a colonist?—I believe he was. He subsequently agreed to send the ships to Cork, and he himself came and superintended very attentively the whole business, and returned to Van Diemen's Land under very different impressions indeed.

1848. Did he express that difference of opinion after he had seen the emigrants?—He did, both to me, and I believe to Her Majesty's Land and Emigration Commissioners, to whom he had very freely communicated his dislike; at least he told me so. (P. 174.)

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The Rev. J. D. Lang, Examined. (Australia.)

3202. (Second Report for 1848.) We find the Scotch Highlanders in the colony much more willing to go into the interior and to conform to the solitary life of the colonial shepherds than the generality of the Irish immigrants, from the circumstance of their being a pastoral people, is a great measure, and from their being accustomed to a solitary life at home; and that circumstance has not been sufficiently taken into account in the emigration of past times with respect to a large proportion of the emigrants who come out to us. (P. 312.)

Mr. Justice Terry, Examined. (Australia.)

3233. (Second Report for 1848.) Do you think there is anything in the nature of the Irish settler that unfits him for the peculiar work that is required on the part of an emigrant in the colony?—I am not aware that there is; in some instances they are preferred. In some cases the experience of the English farmer is considered to be a great advantage, in others the Scotch emigrant is preferred, but for some descriptions of labour many of the employers prefer the Irish labourer, as for shepherds, for instance, for hard labour, for ploughing, and the ordinary agricultural labour. There are, I know, various opinions upon that point; but I think the exercise of an impartial judgment will show that they are all received with equal favour. (P. 326.)

R. B. Minerva, Esq., Examined. (The United States.)

3246. (Second Report for 1848.) There was then no indisposition on the part of the Irish labourers to support themselves by honest industry?—On the contrary, every man who was able to carry a spade went to work, and although the Commission of Emigration commenced its operations in May, and those persons were authorized by law to demand assistance from them whenever they were unable to take care of themselves, there were no instances of applications from able-bodied men for admission to the institutions of the Commissioners until the winter set in, which greatly diminished out-door labour, and at no time were there chargeable to the Commissioners more than 300 able-bodied men.

3247. Out of the enormous number that came?—Out of the emigration of 50,000 Irish, and 160,000 of all nations. (P. 339.)

3316. It also produces very good effects to the people, who themselves emigrate into the country?—Surprising effects. In America they imbibe the spirit of the country. The Irish who are said to be unwilling to work at home, are industrious in the United States. I have scarce ever known an able-bodied Irishman unwilling to work. I can speak with great confidence with regard to their indefatigable industry and willingness to work, and that they do not seek assistance when they can obtain labour. (P. 340.)

5719. You spoke of two modes of applying the funds raised for the purpose of emigration; the one by means of loans to proprietors, and the other by means of the poor-law agency; which do you prefer on the whole?—I prefer greatly that the funds should be administered by the proprietor; the funds that I have spoken of, let it be recollected, are Irish funds, raised by an Irish income tax, and advanced as a loan or partial contribution; and I think it much better that they should be administered by the proprietor, for the following reasons. One of our chief objects in promoting emigration is to promote a sound system of agriculture. Now if the proprietor has funds at his disposal, he will apply those funds so as to enable a better system of agriculture to be realized upon his estate, by the formation of larger holdings. Another consideration which I think is still more important is this, that if emigration be connected with a poor-law agency, you so far attach a premium to pauperism; a man becomes an emigrant by passing through the transition state of a pauper. What the Irish peasant trusts to now as his best protection is emigration, and I think it would be a seductive lure to him if you were to say, "Become a pauper, and you shall have assistance." Another reason which makes me prefer emigration conducted by proprietors to emigration conducted by Boards of Guardians is this, that in the former way the emigrant will often contribute a fair proportion to the expense of his emigration. The proprietor will of course assist not only a person reduced to destitution, but one likely to become reduced, and he will assist him in proportion as he assists himself. It is further to be observed, that if it is thought desirable that the emigrant should contribute to the emigration of others, by sending from the colonies part of the money which his own emigration cost, he will be much more likely to do so if the aid given to him comes from an individual with whom he and his family have personal relations, than if it is connected only with a public Board. Another consideration is one connected with the colonies. Of course we should wish to carry out colonization in a

manner

manner most serviceable to the colonies; but the worst emigrants with which the colonies can be supplied are those who have been paupers; the manly qualities of independence and self-reliance are diminished by pauperism; and therefore emigration should in no respect be connected with the poor-law agency.

5720. Why are you of opinion that a system of emigration under the poor-law agency would lead to paupers being sent out as emigrants?—The Board of Guardians have to relieve those paupers, and they will not raise funds to apply prospectively to those who may become paupers at a remote period. They will relieve those whom they find at their doors.

5721. You are contemplating emigration conducted by the Boards of Guardians, and not by authorities in the electoral division?—I am speaking of emigration conducted by Boards of Guardians.

5722. Would your observation apply in an equal degree to emigration conducted by authorities in the electoral divisions created specifically for the purpose?—It would not apply to the same degree, but it would to some degree. Again, as the funds to be applied to emigration are supposed to consist of loans, I think the security of private estates is a much better security for their punctual repayment than that of the poor-rate. Loans contracted under a quasi compulsion, and loans to public bodies, are those the recovery of which is least certain. Once more, the recurrence of over population is one of the things which we should most deplore, and the possibility of it is one of the reasons frequently urged against assisted emigration. I think that recurrence is least likely to take place if the emigration has been paid for by the proprietors, who will not wish to pay for it again.

5723. Supposing the emigration to be conducted by loans to proprietors, how would you counteract the difficulties which we have seen arise from the circumstance of one proprietor in a district choosing to avail himself of the loan, while other proprietors decline to do so?—That would be prevented by the loans being largely made.

5724. How would you compel all proprietors to take advantage of the loan?—I do not think such compulsion desirable. I know that certain advantages would be gained by a compulsory measure, but I think there are disadvantages connected with every violation of the rights of property, nor do I think the course necessary; if these loans proceeding from an Irish income-tax were offered freely to Irish proprietors, I have no doubt that they would avail themselves of them.

5725. You have stated your opinion strongly in favour of emigration being general; has emigration been recommended by any of the Committees that have considered the condition of Ireland?—Except that on public works, every Committee that has sat on Irish affairs since 1822, has recommended emigration. Most of the public men of our time recommended emigration, even before the failure of the potato occurred. Lord John Russell, Lord Grey, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Lansdown are among their number.

5726. How does it appear to you that assisted emigration would affect the other remedial processes which you consider necessary in the present state of Ireland?—It would greatly assist every one of the remedial processes that I have alluded to. One of the things that I observed to be necessary was improved agriculture. Agriculture will be improved by the introduction of capital. Capital will find its way into Ireland if the population is diminished, if the preservation of peace and deference to the law become general, and, above all, if the rates be diminished. I object to many of the provisions of the present poor law in Ireland; but the most urgent reason why it aggravates the evil it has to contend with is, that it has to sustain a pressure of pauperism which no poor law can resist. Emigration should have preceded the poor law. I believe that every remedial process will be assisted by emigration.

5727. Believing emigration to be a *conditio sine qua non* for the present state of Ireland, do you believe anything more than emigration will be necessary for its improvement?—Certainly, I have mentioned other measures; a sound system of agricultural education is necessary.

5728. How could that be given?—It could be given by the institution, in many parts of the country, of agricultural model schools and model farms. To every national school there might also be attached a small piece of land,—five or six acres—large enough to exhibit to the boys examples of good agriculture upon a small scale, with a rotation of crops, and stall feeding; and also to

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instruct them in manual labour, a thing which in Ireland is very imperfectly exercised.

5729. Among the remedial measures of which you spoke, you named public works; would not there be great danger of their leading us by degrees to a system of pauper labour, however much they were guarded?—I think not; the difficulty in Ireland, of which we have had experience, resulted from the fact of the whole support of the people depending upon those works. You were obliged to admit every one, whether he was a good worker or a bad worker, because the alternative was death. Old men and children were admitted; the lowest rate of wages became whatever was necessary for the support of the largest families; and strong men were sure to give bad work, because they got the same wages whether they worked well or ill. The works which I have alluded to would be undertaken with reference to their acknowledged utility, and none would be retained on them but those who worked well. They should also be works certain to lead to further private employment on their own completion.

5730. Do you remember Mr. Mill's statement upon that subject?—I know that he makes a statement upon that subject in his recent work.

Veneris, 27^a die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir William Somerville.
Mr. G. C. Lewis.
Sir Robert Ferguson.
Mr. Shanks Adair.
Mr. Monell.
Sir Denham Norreys.
Mr. Stafford.
Sir Lorenz O'Brien.

Major Blackall.
Colonel Dames.
Mr. Fagan.
Mr. Poulett Scrope.
Mr. Sharran Crawford.
Mr. O'Flaherty.
Mr. Bright.
Earl of Lincoln.

SIR JOHN YOUNG, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

Aubrey de Vere, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

A. de Vere, Esq.

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5731. Mr. Monell.] THE last question that I asked you was with reference to Mr. Mill's opinion as to the desirableness or necessity of the Government, under certain circumstances, undertaking works of public utility; have you the passage to which I referred, and if so, will you be so good as to read it?—Mr. Mill's statement is, "In the particular circumstances of a given age or nation, there is scarcely anything really important to the general interest which it may not be desirable or even necessary that the Government should take upon itself; not because private individuals cannot effectually perform it, but because they will not. At some times and places there will be no roads, docks, harbours, canals, works of irrigation, hospitals, schools, colleges, printing presses, unless the Government establish them, the public being either too poor to command the necessary resources, or too little advanced in intelligence to appreciate the ends, or not sufficiently practised in conjoint action to be capable of the means. This is true, more or less, of all countries laured to despotism, and particularly of those in which there is a very wide distance in civilization between the people and the government, as in those which have been conquered and are retained in subjection by a more energetic and more cultivated people. In many parts of the world the people can do nothing for themselves which requires large means and combined action: all such things are left undone unless done by the state. In these cases the mode in which the Government can most surely demonstrate the sincerity with which it intends the greatest good of its subjects, is by doing the things which are made incumbent on it by the helplessness of the public in such a manner as shall tend, not to increase and perpetuate, but to correct that helplessness." I need hardly mention that colonization is one of those objects which Mr. Mill thinks ought to be undertaken by the national resources; and with regard to the economical advantages of it considered nationally, he states, "there

"there need be no hesitation in affirming that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the very best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage."

5732. Taking into consideration the relations between England and Ireland, do you conceive that the sentiments expressed in that passage have any peculiar reference to the questions upon which you have been giving your evidence?—They have a remarkable reference to the two countries, considered politically, socially, and economically, and with reference to the past as well as to the present.

5733. You made some statements on the last day that you were examined, with reference to the proportion between the taxation of England and that of Ireland. Some Members of the Committee were not quite satisfied with the estimates which you put in upon that occasion; are you able to give any further explanation with reference to those estimates?—My statement was that the whole property of England, rated and unrated, might be considered to be about 240,000,000 *l.* a year, and that the whole property of Ireland, rated and unrated, might be reckoned at about 20,000,000 *l.* a year. There can be no doubt, I apprehend, as to the value of the English property rated and unrated, because the returns made with reference to the income tax show that income tax is paid upon 192,000,000 *l.*, and adding to that sum one quarter for incomes under 100 *l.* a year, it will bring up that part of the account to 240,000,000 *l.* With reference to Irish rated property we have the poor-law valuation, which states it at 12,000,000 *l.*, a valuation under the present circumstances of the country too high, although originally too low.

5734. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Does not the amount stated in the English return for the income tax include the income of Irish property belonging to persons resident in England?—I believe that the necessary deduction is included in the statement which I have made. At all events, the deduction to be made on that account would not be sufficiently large materially to affect the case.

5735. But is it not better to adhere to the total of the valuation of rateable property in England which is ascertained by the Poor-law Commissioners?—The poor-law valuation of England is far too low.

5736. Mr. Mowatt.] The object is to ascertain, as far as possible, the actual value of the property in both countries?—The actual value of the property is the question in point.

5737. Is it not proved that beyond all doubt the rated property of England is rated much too low to the poor-rates?—Certainly.

5738. It is equally clear that under the circumstances of Ireland, taking into account the potato failure, the rated property of Ireland is rated too high to the poor-rate?—Yes.

5739. Therefore any comparison between the poor-law valuations of the two countries would lead to the most fallacious results?—Certainly. With reference to the unrated property of Ireland, which is the fourth element in the account, and the only one with respect to which any doubt can exist, I believe that the calculations on that subject are made with reference to such considerations as these: the amount of probate duty paid in England and Ireland, which in the case of England we can compare with the whole property of England, and in the case of Ireland, with the whole of the rated property of Ireland, leaving an inference with respect to the unrated property:—the amount of exports and imports in Ireland; the amount of the dividends paid in Ireland; and the amount of currency in circulation in the two countries. It is on a calculation connected with these details, each of which, though in itself more or less uncertain, tends to correct the error of some other, that the opinion has been formed.

5740. Have you any further explanation to give upon that point?—No other.

5741. Do any other measures constitute part of the remedial course which you propose?—Any measures with reference to the tenure of land which gave the tenant a greater security with respect to capital laid out by him, and which gave the landlord a greater power of preventing subletting, would be of use; and generally, it would be highly conducive to the prosperity of both classes if all contracts were required to be in writing. I should also expect benefit to result from encouraging a class of peasant proprietors in Ireland, especially if their properties were scattered amongst the other properties of the country at large, and not collected together in any one part of Ireland. These are the only additional classes of economical measures which I recollect now.

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5742. Does not it occur to you that your scheme, however calculated to improve the condition of the country for the future, leaves the present emergency to a large degree unprovided for?—With reference to that question I should explain the suggestions which I have made by stating, that although the Irish income tax, which I propose to be imposed and capitalized from time to time, should be raised chiefly for the purpose of promoting emigration; yet that object being acknowledged as its main purpose, I should have no objection to see a portion of the proceeds of that income tax applied in the interim, and while such emigration was taking place, to the relief of the distressed districts unable to support their own poor. In making that application of it we should be careful to fix the details in such a manner that the aid given should have no tendency to increase the pauperism intended to be relieved. The income tax should be applied in those distressed districts to the support of the workhouses, or of the sick or aged poor receiving out-door relief, leaving the support of the able-bodied as far as possible to the funds raised within those districts; the latter being a class capable of swelling the relief lists indefinitely.

5743. Will you be so good as to apply the principles which you have been laying down to the circumstances of some given district, with which you are well acquainted, by way of showing how they would work practically?—I cannot do that better than by referring to the case of the electoral division with which I am connected; that is the electoral district of Kilsconan.

5744. It is not peculiarly distressed, is it?—By no means. The valuation of that electoral division is 8,118*l.*; the population, by the returns of 1841, is 3,856, and the number of acres is 7,751. In other respects also I should say that this electoral division is a favourable specimen of Irish electoral divisions. A large proportion of it is in the hands of three proprietors; one of these is an English gentleman who possesses considerable capital, and is ready to employ it for the improvement of his estate; another has borrowed the sum of 8,000*l.* for the purpose of making a large embankment, in order to give work; my brother is the third, who also gives as large employment as he is able to do. And yet, notwithstanding the circumstances which I have mentioned, many very serious evils connected with the poor law are exhibited in our electoral division. I should say in reply to the question asked, that the effect of carrying out the measures which I have named, especially emigration, would be, in the first instance, to raise wages, and thus enable the labouring man to earn a comfortable subsistence. It would also render practicable a better system of agriculture, by enabling persons to consolidate farms who at present, at a great loss, in which the country shares, abstain from doing so on account of the sufferings which, in the present state of things, are connected with clearances. It would also enable the farmers to apply that capital to the land which they now apply to the payment of rates; and we know that if we are to resort to a better species of agriculture, especially one including more of corn and more of green crops, the very first requisite would be, not only that we should employ all the agricultural capital we possess in that way, but that we should attract more capital to the land. I may mention that my brother has been long anxious to establish an agricultural school on his property, which would more than most things tend to the improvement of agriculture; but that his funds being taken up in the payment of rates, he is unable to do so. Another effect which in our electoral division would result from emigration is, that it would put an end to that lawlessness which has existed in it to a greater or less degree for a long time. I should also add, that the labour given by the labourer would, I think, be worth much more than it now is; the principle of connivance amongst labourers to which I have already referred, ceasing with its cause; so that although, as I have stated, one effect would be to raise wages in a manner highly beneficial to the labourer, the price of labour would not really become higher to the farmer, because he would get better work in return for better pay. I should add that part of the constabulary expense is placed upon each district which requires an addition to the constabulary force. In proportion as you repress lawlessness you diminish the probability of that tax being imposed upon the district. In all these respects, and many more such which I might mention, our electoral division would be benefited in a far greater degree by emigration than by any other process whatsoever.

5745. You speak of over-population; what effect do you conceive that improved agriculture would have upon population?—I think that the ultimate effect

effect of improved agriculture upon population will be to increase the general population of the country. I have already asserted that for improved agriculture we require an immediate diminution of numbers, but when I state that the ultimate effect of good cultivation would be not to diminish but to increase numbers, I refer to the obvious fact that good cultivation will produce capital, and that capital will give rise to wants not felt at present, and tend therefore to the creation of trade and manufactures, things highly desirable in Ireland. Therefore I think that the ultimate effect of improved agriculture will be to add to the number of persons able to acquire a comfortable subsistence.

5746. With reference to the future, and taking into account particularly the circumstances of the electoral division which you have described, what do you think will be the difference between the effect of emigration and of other remedies?—The chief difference I should say is this, that other remedies are for the most part palliatives for the moment. Observe, for instance, the result of extraordinary exertions made in the way of employment: the assistance so given is a relief for the moment, but those extraordinary works must necessarily come to an end. In our own electoral division I have stated that one gentleman alone has taken the sum of 8,000 *l.* for the purpose of making an embankment; that embankment will be finished in another year or two, but the population will remain what it was at the beginning. Such works have indeed a direct tendency to increase the congestion of population, both by attracting persons who would not otherwise migrate to those parts, and also by encouraging improvident marriages. Such remedies, therefore, deal with distress for the moment, but leave the problem really unsolved. If on the other hand, when a loan is made to proprietors for the purpose of improving their lands, they they were allowed to devote one-half of it to emigration, they would take care so to apply both portions as that when their works were ended, the population should be diminished.

5747. Taking into account the circumstances of the districts with which you are best acquainted, do the observations which you have made with reference to your own electoral division, in your opinion apply generally?—Certainly; I have given that as a specimen. I do not mean to say that it applies to the whole of Ireland; but it is an illustration of the great benefit which would accrue from emigration in many parts of Ireland not in the most extreme state of destitution. I have already stated that there are parts of Ireland which I think have passed the period in which emigration is the remedy.

5748. Are you acquainted with the agricultural statistics of Ireland as compared with those of other countries?—With reference to the question of the number of agricultural labourers who can be profitably employed in Ireland, I should observe that the average number of persons to the hundred cultivated acres in various countries of the world is as follows: in Belgium, 77; in Ireland, 60; in England and Wales, 53; in Scotland, 51; in Holland, 48; in France, 39. It will be observed, therefore, that the number is greatest in Ireland, with the exception of Belgium, a country which possesses great wealth, independently of agriculture, and large manufacturing cities. Another calculation which illustrates this subject is the number per cent. of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits in various parts of England and Ireland. I find that in England and Wales the number is 19; in Lincolnshire the number is 40; in Westmoreland the number is 27; whereas in the county of Mayo the number is actually 79; and in the county of Kerry 77. Another illustration of the subject is found by a reference to the valuation of any particular part of England compared with the population. Dorsetshire, I believe, is not one of the more prosperous parts of England, yet in Dorsetshire the valuation is 735,224 *l.*, and the population is 174,743. Let us next observe the mode in which the population of Great Britain and Ireland respectively is distributed. In Great Britain the agricultural population is 22 per cent.; the commercial is 46 per cent.; the miscellaneous is 32 per cent. In Ireland the agricultural population is 64 per cent.; the commercial is 18 per cent.; the miscellaneous is 18 per cent. These statistics prove that the agricultural population of Ireland is unprecedented, except in particular parts of Europe, such as Belgium, in which extraordinary facilities for agriculture result from the presence of manufactures, large towns, and ready markets, as well as from long habits of industry, from science, and from a great accumulation of capital.

5749. Mr. G. C. Lewis.] Supposing you were to make a comparison with France

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France or some German State in which the population was agricultural, which was nevertheless in a tolerably prosperous condition, would not it be more likely to lead to a correct result?—I have made such a comparison. In France the number of persons to the hundred acres is 58, and in Ireland it is 80.

5750. Are you not taking the total number of persons in the population which is employed in agriculture as compared with the total number of persons in a population not employed in agriculture?—In making that comparison I refer to an average of all the inhabitants of the country.

5751. Instead of comparing Ireland, which is an agricultural country, with England, which is to a great extent a commercial and manufacturing country, would it not be better to compare Ireland with some other agricultural country, which nevertheless is admitted to be in a prosperous state?—I should have thought that the comparison which I made between Ireland and England was one which put my argument to a disadvantage, because when I state that the number of persons to the hundred acres in Ireland is 80, and in England and Wales is 53, it is to be recollected that the number of persons in England would not approach 53 on an average to the hundred acres, if it were not that a vast proportion of the population included in that return, consists of persons whose labour is entirely unconnected with agriculture. Therefore the argument, as I put it, tells much less strongly for my position than it would do otherwise.

5752. Mr. Monseff.] And have you not compared some of the counties of Ireland which are purely agricultural with some of the counties of England which are purely agricultural?—I compared Lincolnshire and Westmorland with Mayo and Kerry.

5753. Would any of the conclusions which you have arrived at be changed or modified by the return of the potato crop?—They would remain unchanged; and they would be only modified so far as the immediate urgency of the case is concerned. In the first place it is to be remembered that a very large number of persons who are now receiving poor-law relief could not, if the potato returned, derive the benefit which they formerly did from it, because they have surrendered their holdings, partly from not being able to cultivate them, and partly because they could not receive poor-law relief without surrendering them. In the second place the necessity for such measures as I have described existed, although in a less degree, before the potato failure took place, and the necessity for emigration on a large scale was urged by eminent authorities in Parliament and eminent authorities connected with the poor law before the poor law itself was introduced into Ireland. It was stated expressly that the working of the poor law in Ireland depended upon the introduction of emigration, and I think even public works were named with reference to that subject. The report which bears the signature of the Archbishop of Dublin recommended that relief to the able-bodied should be given exclusively through emigration. Again, in reply to the question, I should say that if the potato returned the tendency of things, unless timely assistance were given in the way that I have described, would be to revert to that state of which we have hitherto lamented the long existence in Ireland; that is to say, a social condition in which the lower class of the people have lived without the ordinary comforts of life, and in a condition rather of vassalage than of free labourers. It is only by reverting to such a system, the last thing which we should desire, that it would be possible to escape the necessity for emigration, supposing the potato to return. We should therefore have lost an opportunity, and learned a better lesson in vain: population would advance again, without increased means of support; and the next time a potato failure occurred we should be where we now are.

5754. In fact we should become fit victims for another famine?—Yes.

5755. Do you know whether any strong desire has been expressed in Ireland for such measures as you advocate?—In my own part of the country, it appears to me to be the strongest desire which the poor entertain. I could not confer a benefit upon a poor man which he would appreciate so much as by assisting him to emigrate. If I had 1,000 *l.* to dispose of for the benefit of the poor, I should dispose of nearly the whole of it in that way. If I had 10,000 *l.* or 100,000 *l.*, I should dispose of the greater portion of it in the same way, acting solely with reference to the benefit and to the wishes of the emigrants. I have heard all classes of the community in my neighbourhood, the country gentleman, the farmer, the Roman-catholic clergyman, the Protestant clergyman, and the pauper receiving relief, express the same sentiment. I may add that I have heard

heard, in not a few cases, the labourer employed under the Labour-rate Act, ask the question, "Why does not the Government rather enable us to go to a country in which we could earn our food in a respectable manner, than leave us to be supported as we now are?" I hold in my hand a petition which was forwarded by some poor labourers on their own account, and another petition which several grand juries addressed to the Queen during the disturbed period of last year, when an outbreak was threatened.

[*The Witness delivered in the same, which are as follow :*]

PETITION from Poor Irish to the Right Honourable Lords Temporal and Spiritual.

Honoured Gentlemen,

We, the undersigned, humbly request that ye will excuse the liberty we take in troubling ye at a time when ye ought to be tired, listening to our cries of distress; but, like beggars, we are importunate. We, the undersigned, are the inhabitants of the parish of Rathbarren, barony of Limer, and county of Sligo. It is useless for us to be relating our distress, for ye too often were distressed by hearing them, for none could describe it; it can only be known by the sufferers themselves. We thank ye and our gracious Sovereign and the Almighty for the relief we have, though 1 lb. of Indian meal for a full grown person, which has neither milk nor any other kind of kitchen, it is hardly fit to keep the life in there; but if we got all that we would be thankful. But if we have reason to complain, there is others has more reason to complain, for in the parish Toneragh they are getting but half a pound, and several of them are not able to buy one pennyworth of milk. I fear the curse of the Almighty will come heavier on this country the way they are treating the poor; but distress stores us in face more grim than ever, for we have no sign of employment, for the farmers is not keeping either boy or girl or workman they can avoid, but are doing the work by their families, though they are not half doing it. In times past the poor of this country had large gardens of potatoes, and as much corn as supported them for nearly the whole year; and when they had no employment from the farmers, they were working for themselves, and when they had no employment they had their own provision. But now there (are) thousands and tens of thousands that has not a cabbage plant in the ground; so we hope that ye will be so charitable as to send us to America, and give us land according to our families, and anything else ye will give us (and we will do with the coarsest kind). We will repay the same, with the interest thereof, by instalments, as the Government will direct. And if any refuse or neglect to pay the same, the next settler to pay the money and have his land. And we will bind ourselves to defend the Queen's right in any place we are sent, and leave it on our children to do the same. So we hope, for the sake of Him gave ye the power and England power, and raised her to be the wonder of the world, and enabled her to pay twenty millions for the slaves in India, that ye will lend us half the sum, which we will honestly repay, with the interest thereof, for we are more distressed than they; and hope, for the sake of Him that said, "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, and He will repay it," that ye will grant our petition. And may He grant ye heavenly wisdom, with temporal and spiritual riches also, is the earnest prayer of your petitioners.

[Eighty-six Names.]

We think it useless to trouble ye with names, as we could get as many names as would nearly reach across the Channel.

We hope your lordship will excuse the liberty we take in troubling you. We know that you have Irish poor at heart, and that you are their best friend; which is the cause of us making so free.

We hope ye will make allowance for deficiencies of this, for the writer is a poor man that knows little about styles and titles, for we are not able to pay a man that could do it right.

PETITION addressed to The Queen by several of the Irish Grand Juries, during the Summer of 1846, at a time when much Political Apprehension existed.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty,

We, the undersigned, for the most part proprietors and residents in Ireland, approach Your Majesty to express our abhorrence of the course recently pursued by men whose avowed object it has been to effect political changes by force of arms, and incite their fellow-subjects to rebellion.

We trust that their efforts, which are not countenanced by the great mass of the Irish people, will fail to produce the effect designed. In any event, we are prepared, with that unquestioned loyalty which has ever belonged to us, to place our properties and our lives at Your Majesty's disposal, and to vindicate Your Majesty's rights and the laws of our country against all treasonable attempts.

We owe a duty to our poorer fellow-countrymen, the performance of which we deem also a duty to Your Majesty. We are bound to state our conviction that the political agitation unhappily so long prevalent in this country, and which of late has in many places assumed the character of dissension, however necessary may be the objects which it seeks, is aggravated and rendered more dangerous by the misery of the people.

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For many years, destitution has been the chronic condition of multitudes in this land, and that destitution has been aggravated by famine; as consequence of which, notwithstanding large contributions from the Imperial Treasury, and a noble liberality on the part of Your Majesty's British and colonial subjects, as well as foreign nations, an extraordinary number of the Irish people have perished. Even under the most favourable circumstances, the resources of the poor must for several years be much crippled by the losses already sustained. So disproportioned is the active capital of this country to the numbers of the people, that, while the great natural resources of Ireland remain undeveloped, multitudes of her children seek in vain for employment or food. For this state of things we believe that no remedy can be found, until direct legislative efforts are made to open out new fields of industry, or to assist such persons as cannot earn a subsistence at home in their endeavours to settle in countries where labour is the first requisite and the best capital.

We therefore implore Your Majesty to recommend to Parliament measures calculated to mitigate, and ultimately to remove, that destitution, which is the chief practical grievance of Ireland. Among the measures which we regard as of primary importance are the following: 1st. A good system of agricultural education, for want of which the produce of the Irish soil is small, compared with what it might gradually be made by a more scientific culture. 2dly. Systematic colonisation; by which, while the interests of the colonies were advanced, effectual assistance and protection would be given to emigrants; and without which no real and extended agricultural improvement can take place. 3dly. Promotion by the State of really useful works; such as harbours, piers, canals, or railways. We allude to such works only as the State might assist without departing from her proper sphere; works impracticable without such aid; works in support of which such public aid would be met by local contributions, or the enterprise of companies; works which would not only supply present employment, but would produce a permanent demand for labour, by developing the resources of this country, and encouraging the investment of capital.

We have seen with satisfaction the recent introduction into Parliament of several measures relating to Ireland; we believe, however, that measures striking at the root of Irish distress are absolutely necessary; and though difficulties must beset every largely remedial course, we are convinced that with such the Imperial Legislature is able to cope. The causes of the depressed condition of Ireland are so various, and many of them are connected with periods so remote, that the cure must needs be gradual, and must require the joint efforts of the State and of every class in Ireland. The physical condition of the people once raised, a foundation will be laid for that progressive moral improvement, through education, in the absence of which, while the most extravagant political expectations must ever abound, the most useful reforms will produce but partially the desired effect of prosperity and peace.

In thus specifying some of the chief means by which relief may be afforded through Legislative interference, we are the more urgently reminded of our own corresponding duties; and we shall be the more incited to their adequate discharge, if permitted to labour with hope of ultimate success. Desirous to cement a closer, more cordial, and more equal union between England and Ireland, as well as to render the combined exertions of all in this land more effectual for the common good, we have thought it our duty to Your Majesty and our country at once to tender to Your Majesty this homage of our loyalty, and to invoke Your Majesty's attention to the sufferings of our humbler fellow countrymen; sufferings long endured, and the removal of which will be attended, we trust, by permanent peace, and the grateful affections of a loyal and contented people.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

5756. In considering the modifications of the poor law which you thought desirable, you expressed an opinion on the question of a maximum rate; I understand that you wish to make some explanation with regard to that statement?—One of my arguments against a maximum rate was its obvious tendency to become a minimum rate. I was asked whether such a tendency could arise in those cases where the present rate is as low as 1s.; I stated that in those cases no benefit whatever could result from a maximum rate, as no panic existed to be allayed; but that danger did exist even in those cases, and that the tendency of the rate would be to rise to the maximum. The explanation which I have to add is, that I never intended to state that in such a case the rate would rise immediately to the maximum, but that such would be the tendency, and such in the course of time would be the effect. The effect would take place very rapidly in those numerous cases in which the rate approximated to the maximum, and in the cases in which the rate did not approximate to the maximum it would take place proportionably slowly; but I think that in all cases it would eventually take place.

5757. Have you any further statement to make upon that subject?—I should wish to observe also, that the plan is nothing new. It has been tried in England, and I believe it has been found to be a failure. I have seen two poor-law statutes of England on that subject, of which I will give the Committee the titles. The first is 26 Geo. 3, c. 10; that statute provides, that whereas the poor-law relief

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relief given in many of the parishes and hundreds of England has hitherto been limited to a certain maximum, and whereas in consequence of the rise in the price of corn, and other causes assigned, such a maximum no longer enables the necessary relief to be given, it shall be lawful in future to affix another maximum, exactly double that previously assigned. The second statute is the 59 Geo. 3, c. 73; it refers to the statute previously mentioned; it states that the maximum last prescribed, being double the maximum which had previously been settled, has been found on experience to be insufficient to the growing needs of the paupers; that it is necessary therefore to increase this maximum; and it accordingly gives power to administer relief beyond the limits of the second maximum, assigning no third limit whatsoever. This, I think, is an illustration of my statement, that the tendency of a maximum rate is to become a minimum rate, and to require therefore some further provision. When that circumstance occurs you can only give further relief either by defining a new maximum rate, a thing inconsistent with the hypothesis, and which would of course destroy all confidence in the maximum, or else by resorting to some new form of relief which would not include within itself those tendencies to prevent or limit pauperism which exist in the poor-law system in consequence of the connexion which that system has with local interests and local knowledge, and its tendency to institute a proportion between the number of persons introduced into any district, and the number who can receive profitable labour in it.

5758. Have you stated fully your views with respect to the changes which you would recommend in the poor law?—The changes which I should wish to see introduced into our permanent poor law are for the most part changes which would assimilate it to the English poor law, although not in all respects. If specified with reference to a permanent poor law and the permanent interest of the country, they would include the withholding of out-door relief, at least from the able-bodied; they would include a small area of taxation, and a small area of administration; they would include the imposition of the whole rate upon the occupiers in the case of new leases; they would include a cessation of that exemption with regard to tenements under 4*l.* a year which at present exists; they would include a cessation of that government through vice-guardians, which appears to me inconsistent with all civil rights, and which is only required by the exigency of a famine. I am quite aware that it would be impossible to adopt all these suggestions at the present moment, although I think that several of them ought to be adopted without delay.

5759. I understood you to state that in your opinion it would be very unfair to attribute to the poor law the evils which you have described as now existing in Ireland?—Unquestionably. I stated that many of those evils resulted from causes which were in existence before the poor law was introduced, but that they are greatly aggravated by the famine which has taken place since; and that so far as they are aggravated by the poor law, which I believe them to be, it is by certain particular provisions of that poor law, and by the task unjustifiably imposed on it, not by the principle of the poor law itself.

5760. Is there, in your opinion, any close relation between the pauperism in England and in Ireland?—The closest possible. The migration of Irish paupers seeking work in England has, I think, an inevitable tendency to depress the condition of the English to that of the Irish labourer. It is obviously both possible, and for the interest of the Irish to underbid the English labourer in his own market; his standard of living being already much lower than that of the English labourer. If he were to procure in England wages which would afford him the merest necessities of life, his condition would be incomparably better than it is at present in Ireland. It is, I believe, competent for him to come over to England, leaving his wife and children to be supported by the rates in Ireland, in which case, while the English labourer expected such wages as would enable him to support his family, the Irish labourer in England could afford to labour for such wages as would support himself alone. I am aware that a law has been passed enabling Boards of Guardians to send back to Ireland any Irish immigrant into England who becomes burdensome; but I am not speaking of Irish paupers who come over to England for the purpose of being relieved by English poor-rates, but of the Irish pauper or labourer (we can make no distinction between them) who comes over to England for the purpose of competing with the English labourer in the labour market. Such a person, I think, will find his case much improved by the enactment to which I have referred. If he gets the labour

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which he seeks, he will then not be affected by that law; if he fails he will be sent back free of cost. Such a provision, therefore, seems to me to be likely to increase, and not to diminish the number of persons migrating from Ireland; and I believe that the number has been found greatly to increase of late. But I take for granted that no person would endeavour to prevent the Irish labourer from competing in the fair labour market with the English labourer; no person certainly who is attached to the principles, now much recognized, of free trade could do so. If we adopt the principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, of course the labourer who has but one commodity to dispose of, namely, his labour, will naturally sell that labour in the dearest market, and the English agricultural employer of labour will wish to purchase it at the cheapest rate that he can. I should also mention that the alternative, if the Irish pauper does not come over to England, being, not that he will find labour at home, but that he will be supported by rates, his adoption of that course would prove that he preferred to live by alms instead of by the sweat of his brow. On moral grounds, therefore, I should suppose that no person can object, any more than upon political or commercial grounds, to his resorting to the English labour market, as we find that he does.

5761. Do you believe that it would be possible to prevent the Irish labourers from immigrating into England?—Wholly impossible; so much so, that I believe that the ultimate rate of wages in the two countries must sink to the same level, and that if Irish pauperism be not diverted by some large and searching method, the ultimate effect of it must necessarily be to infect this country with all the calamities which we deplore in Ireland.

5762-3. Mr. G. C. Lewis. In answer to query 5591 you state, "It appears to me the chief reason why the existing poor law has aggravated the distress in the western part of Ireland is, that it has been misapplied; it has been constituted the sole remedy for the famine, a poor law being, as I apprehend, applicable, not to a state of famine, but to a state of chronic distress." Under No. 5592 you say, "The present disastrous state of things proceeds from having relied chiefly or exclusively upon the poor law during a time of famine; and it proceeds likewise from having so modified that poor law, in order to enable it to meet a case of famine, as to deprive the poor law of its ordinary safeguards and securities, which all experience has proved to be necessary in order to prevent abuse." Under No. 5596 you say, "What I intended to express was, that the poor law was a highly important part of the relief system which we required during a time of famine, but that it was a part only, and not the whole." In the first place, I wish to ask you whether extraordinary measures were not resorted to during the time of famine in Ireland?—I conceive the time of famine in Ireland to last to the present time.

5764. Have not large aids been given from the public purse to the local rates in Ireland during the famine?—Very large aids were given during the year 1846-7. During the last year aid has also been given, chiefly from the contributions of the British Association; that aid was wholly insufficient to avert those evil consequences which result from leaning mainly and primarily upon a poor law in case of famine, for the reasons which I will assign. I stated, in the first instance, that the poor law when applied to a case of famine was deprived of those ordinary guards, tests, and securities which have been found necessary to prevent fatal abuses. The inconvenience produced by divesting our poor law of those securities (I refer now especially to out-door relief, and to the administration by local guardians), has been of course felt in those western districts, notwithstanding the aid introduced *ad extra*. I attach however yet more importance to this consideration, that wherever you introduce aid *ad extra*, recognizing the principle that the poor law is in the first instance to supply, if possible, the whole need of the time, and that time being a time of famine, the aid *ad extra* can of course not be applied until the whole local resources of the district have been exhausted in the collection of rates. Now the mischief as regards agriculture is already done, when the utmost possible sum which can be collected through a poor-law agency has been collected in a time of famine. Rates have been collected in the west of Ireland by the aid of the police and military. The forcible collection of this utmost possible rate leaves no means behind for the employment of labour, renders it utterly impossible to adopt an improved or carry on the ordinary agriculture, drives the capitalists out of the country, throws land into waste, and therefore produces, with respect to agriculture and the

the social condition of the country at large, nearly the same evils as would have resulted although no aid whatsoever had been administered.

5765. Then do you think that the principle of Parliamentary grants from the public exchequer in aid of the local funds, during the late famine of Ireland, was a good principle?—I think it was a sound principle; I have stated that I think that such grants should also be made from the Irish income tax which I propose to raise. Let me correct my answer so far as to say, a good principle under the circumstances; or rather, a necessity upon which we are driven, if we have not laid the foundation of a relief system by measures especially calculated to divert the pressure of a famine.

5766. Would you wish to continue that system of grants in aid of the local funds for the present in Ireland?—I should wish to continue in the western parts of Ireland those grants *ad extra* which are absolutely necessary for the support of the people in those western districts; but I should wish that they should be applied only until the other measures which I suggested have had time to operate, and that they should be applied in a manner calculated to relieve paupers without increasing pauperism.

5767. Would you wish that that extraneous assistance should come from the Imperial exchequer, or that it should come from exclusively Irish funds?—I think that, on the grounds both of justice and of a far-sighted wisdom, it ought to come from Imperial funds; but if such a course is considered impossible or undesirable, I am content that it should come from Irish funds; namely, from the proceeds of an Irish income tax, applied, as I have before stated, to the support of the workhouses and of the disabled poor in the districts requiring relief. When I say that, on principles of justice, the aid ought to come from the empire at large, I should wish to fortify that opinion by observing, that when the Ministry stated in Parliament, in 1847, that whereas by law the whole of the money spent in Ireland under the labour-rate system was to have been repaid by the country, they thought it expedient to modify that law so far as to make the repayment of only one half devolve upon Ireland, it was stated by the Prime Minister that he had arrived at that conclusion on the grounds of justice. He said that in case of an unexpected calamity of a very urgent nature, he thought that the whole empire ought to contribute to the relief of a distressed part. I concur in that sentiment, but it appears to me to apply still more justly to a famine which lasts for three years than for one year, because it is obvious that the resources of the particular part afflicted must be diminished in an ever-increasing ratio, in proportion as that famine extends in duration.

5768. Do you disapprove of all the alterations which have been made in the poor law of Ireland to adapt it to the recent famine?—That is rather a large question.

5769. Your answers appeared to imply something to that effect?—I do not disapprove of all those alterations. I am not prepared to state that relief should have been administered only in the workhouse, although that is my opinion with respect to the able-bodied, whose out-door support should not have been connected with a permanent poor law. Another alteration in the law is the appointment of vice-guardians; that is a modification which on abstract principles I greatly deplore, because it gives an irresponsible power of taxation, a principle new to the British Constitution, and only to be paralleled, I believe, by what exists under some of the tyrannies of the east. But at the same time I admit, that if you go upon the principle of adapting a poor law to a famine, it will in many cases be necessary to resort to vice-guardians.

5770. Do you think that it would have been possible, looking to the succession of years for which the famine has continued, to avoid all permanent alterations in the general poor law of the country made with reference to temporary circumstances?—I think that alterations made for temporary purposes ought to be temporary alterations.

5771. Do you think that it would have been possible, having once introduced the principle of out-door relief, to withdraw it when the temporary emergency ceased?—I should imagine that it was possible to withdraw it when the necessity for it no longer existed.

5772. Is not the present law so framed, that the Poor-law Commissioners may, if they think fit, withhold from the guardians the power to give out-door relief to able-bodied men?—Yes; but I think that to place such an extraordinary power in the hands of any men, is in itself wholly inconsistent with the principles of

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civil liberty; and I have also to observe, that although I believe that the Poor-law Commissioners have exercised their powers with great ability and energy, yet that discretionary power referred to is one which exists nominally and not really; because, if the people know that there exists a power of administering out-door relief, and that nothing withholds such out-door relief from them, except what they regard as the caprice of individuals, such exaggerated expectations will be raised, and so urgent a pressure will be brought to bear, that it will be impossible to limit the out-door relief to those cases in which it is absolutely necessary.

5773. *Sir W. Somerville.* Are you aware that there were several instances in which the Commissioners were strongly urged to grant out-door relief, and where they did successfully resist the pressure which was put upon them?—I believe there were such instances.

5774. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* Do you believe that it is the general disposition of Boards of Guardians throughout Ireland to urge the Commissioners to allow them to give out-door relief to able-bodied men?—I believe that they have frequently done so; but that fact rather illustrates what I formerly stated. The guardians have done so in some cases, no doubt, because they knew that such out-door relief was necessary; but I believe that, in other cases in which the Commissioners have resisted the demand, the Boards of Guardians made the request, to a great extent, under the urgency of that pressure which I formerly referred to.

5775. Are you aware that the power of appointing vice-guardians is a power that was not introduced in consequence of the famine, but which was conferred by the original Poor-law Act?—In that case an intermediate election was required. I suppose, however, that the provision was introduced prospectively with reference to the occurrence of a famine.

5776. Is it not more likely that the provision was introduced in this contemplation, that there would be Boards of Guardians unwilling or unable to carry the law into effect?—Their being unwilling or unable to carry the law into effect would depend upon the amount of distress to be relieved. In many parts of Ireland in which it has been found that no adequate poor-law agency now exists without the appointment of vice-guardians, the local poor-law agency was efficient until the country had been visited by a famine, and the amount of rates required had been proportionally increased.

5777. In other parts of your evidence you refer to the loss and the failure of the potato; under No. 5694 you say, "Another reason is that the potato having failed, we must of course resort to a better system of agriculture; that system of agriculture will consist of corn agriculture, and the cultivation of green crops." Lower down, in the same answer, "The state of things in Ireland creates a difficulty, because we have to take at the same time two steps which are both taken in the progress of civilization, but not often at the same time. We have to advance from a lower to a higher species of food, namely, from potato food to corn food; and we have at the same time to advance from the truck system to a system of wages." When you speak of the loss of the potato, do you conceive it a certain thing that the potato blight is to be permanent in Ireland?—By no means. That the potato blight should be permanent in Ireland I think improbable, but that the potato should ever constitute again the foundation of the agricultural system of Ireland I should think hardly possible; and if such an event took place, I should regard it as a thing greatly to be deprecated, because it would involve us again in the evils from which we have not yet escaped; we should run the same circle of evil over again.

5778. Do you think it probable that the agriculture of Ireland will within any limited number of years cease to be based upon the cultivation of the potato?—I think it absolutely essential that it should.

5779. Admitting that it may be highly expedient and very much to be wished that that should be the case, what is your opinion as to the probability of the change taking place?—I cannot state what the probability is without knowing what measures are to be adopted by the Legislature; but I think that if the measures which I have suggested were adopted, the probability would be very great, and that such improved agriculture would be one of the great benefits resulting from them.

5780. When you speak of a change from the truck system to a system of wages, do you mean the system of setting off wages against rent?—Yes.

5781. You

5781. You mean the payment of wages in rent?—By the system of truck I refer especially to the *conacre*, the rent of which was worked out by labour.

5782. By the truck system is commonly understood the payment of wages in goods at a shop?—The goods in this instance are the manured land that is let out in the shape of *conacre*.

5783. It is, in point of fact, the setting-off of labour against the rent?—Precisely.

5784. With respect to a union rate, does it not appear to you that there is a material difference between a union rate and a national rate, as to the control which the Board of Guardians exercises over the expenditure of the electoral divisions?—To a certain degree there is a difference; but I think that in the event of a union rate being adopted it will be found that the Boards of Guardians do not possess the power of preventing the rates from rising much higher than they ought to rise.

5785. Have not the Board of Guardians a complete control over the expenditure of each electoral division, as well as over the expenditure of the union at large?—I do not think that any effectual control can exist except that which is produced by the local employment given, the method of agriculture adopted, and that personal knowledge of applicants which requires a small area of interest and management; in other words, the guardians possess a legal power of control but not a practical power.

5786. Have you ever been in the habit of attending your Board of Guardians?—I have frequently attended it, although not a guardian.

5787. Have you observed that there is a greater disposition in the Board to give relief to a union pauper than to an electoral-division pauper?—I believe so.

5788. Supposing a maximum of 5 s., or any other similar amount, is fixed for the electoral division, would it not be the interest of all ratepayers in that electoral division to keep down the expenditure, though a maximum is fixed?—It would be the interest of all parties to keep down the expenditure, but it would be their interest in a less degree than if no maximum were fixed. In stating that it would be the interest of all parties, I ought to qualify that answer by observing that it would not in all respects be the apparent interest of all parties. The farmer, in the case of a maximum rate, would have taken a lease subject to the maximum, and with a rent proportionately reduced; he would therefore look upon the gain accruing to him from keeping the rates low, as an addition to the gains which he had bargained for and calculated upon, and not as a protection from ruin. Now it was found very frequently in England, before the poor law was amended, that the farmer by no means preferred that the rate should be low, because in many respects he gained by its being high. I can easily imagine that in Ireland also the farmer might expect to gain by the rates being high: he might, for instance, gain by letting lodgings to paupers; he might also expect to gain by getting labour proportionably cheap, especially if anything like a labour-rate were introduced as part of the system. On the whole, therefore, taking into account that the sympathies of the occupying class are with the masses, and that a very great pressure from without is necessarily brought upon them, and remembering the mode in which the farmers acted in England previously to the reform in the poor law, I think it by no means certain that all the rate-payers would, if a maximum were fixed, recognize it as, on the whole, their interest to keep down the rates.

5789. Supposing the guardians of the union saw that there was in a particular electoral division a disposition to raise the rates in order to reach the maximum, and call in the assistance of the union rate, would not the other guardians have it in their power to control the expenditure of that particular electoral division?—I think all such power is rather legal than practical; it would be theirs till they tried to exercise it. If the pauperism be created it must be relieved.

5790. You stated that you thought that the electoral divisions in Ireland ought to be of the same size as the English parishes; that would imply a reduction to between one-third and one-fourth of their present size. In reducing the size of the electoral divisions to that standard, would you take any account of the boundaries of property?—I should take into account the boundaries of properties, but not to the extent of making the electoral divisions continuous with properties. I think that on that subject, there exist two important principles, neither of which is to be disregarded: one relates to the benefit which must result from individual responsibility, the other to that which results from combined

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combined action amongst proprietors. I should be unwilling to forego either of those advantages; I should therefore think it advisable in many cases to combine a few properties together, but of course a very much smaller number than are at present combined. The two principles which I have indicated appear to me both equally to be violated at present, in consequence of the enormous size of our electoral divisions; on the one hand all individual responsibility is prevented; on the other the number of proprietors included in an electoral division being very large, it is generally impossible that they should combine.

5791. Do you think that a considerable reduction of the size of electoral divisions would increase in the landowners a tendency to eject tenants?—That would depend upon the law of settlement to be introduced; I think that it would produce no such tendency, provided that the support of the ejected person were to be charged upon the land from which he had been ejected.

5792. When you speak of the law of settlement, do you mean the law of settlement in the English sense, or merely the law of chargeability?—The law of chargeability.

5793. Would you introduce into Ireland a law of settlement similar to the English law of settlement, which implies a power of compulsory removal?—No, I should not.

5794. What is the nature of the law of chargeability which you contemplate?—I think that if electoral divisions were to be made smaller, the charge for the support of persons evicted from a particular district should be charged upon that district, at least for a given number of years. I express no opinion as to whether that ought to be a part of the permanent law, or a provision with reference to the existing state of things.

5795. Supposing this case, which perhaps is not a very improbable case, that a person, the owner of an electoral division, gives notice to a certain number of tenants that he evicts them; that he pulls down their houses, and consolidates their holdings with the neighbouring farms; they become vagrants, leave the electoral division, and go to other distant parts of Ireland. How would you deal with that?—I should say that in such a case they would probably find their way back again, at least to the union from which they had departed; and that, receiving relief in that union, the charge should be attached to the land from which they had been evicted.

5796. Supposing they were to go to a town out of the union, what would you then do?—Two courses would remain open; one would be that they should be relieved in the town in which they had settled.

5797. At whose cost?—At the charge of the land from which they had been removed; and the other, as I said before, that they should find their way back to the union in which the property upon which they had lived was situated.

5798. Then do you contemplate the introduction of a system of extra union relief; that is to say, relief given to a person resident in one union at the expense of another union?—I do not express any opinion as to whether that would be the most desirable mode of solving the problem; it would be a mode.

5799. Reverting to the subject of a maximum, you referred to two Acts of Parliament, one the 36th of George the Third, chapter 10, the other the 52d of George the Third, chapter 73. It appears that those are Acts referring only to parishes and incorporated hundredes in England under local Acts; those local Acts fixed a maximum amount for the rates to be levied for the relief of the poor during the year; and in the scarcity of 1795 it was found that that maximum was too low, and an Act was passed raising the maximum. Does that appear to you to have any bearing upon the question of fixing a maximum in Ireland at present?—I think it has a very important bearing upon it. If we can show that in the only instances in which a maximum rate was imposed, it was found insufficient, and was doubled; that it was found still insufficient, abolished, and that no further limit whatever was assigned; that appears to me to be a very important comment upon the subject.

5800. In this case was there any contrivance similar to a union rate in aid provided?—I believe not.

5801. Was not the case that you refer to a case of this sort; a maximum fixed in a time of plenty which was found to be too low in a time of scarcity; and is it not now, which is a time of scarcity, proposed to fix a maximum?—I was not aware that the failure had taken place in consequence of a scarcity in the former instance;

instance; but if that be the case, it to a certain extent modifies the degree in which the illustration serves.

5802. I will read to you a part of the recital of the 36th George the Third, chapter 10: "Whereas by reason of the late very great increase of the price of corn, and other necessary articles of life, the amount of the rates and assessments so limited by the said several Acts of Parliament are become insufficient for the necessary relief and maintenance of the poor, who have also of late greatly increased in number"—I stated that amongst the reasons assigned an increase in the price of corn was one; but that does not seem to me necessarily to imply that the necessity for doubling the maximum was produced by a famine, and if such was the case in the first instance, it would still remain to be shown that the same was the case in the second instance.

5803. Do not you know that in the year 1812 the price of corn was extremely high, and also that the currency was then depreciated so as to disturb all maximums fixed at a previous time?—If that be the case a proportionate deduction is to me made from the value of the illustration; such fluctuations however are always liable to take place; and I conceive that the illustration remains an important comment upon the question in discussion.

5804. You made some reference to the reasons for not repaying the advances of the workhouse loans in Ireland; do you remember that the money was advanced on easy terms to the Irish workhouses, and that they were not required to pay any interest during the first 10 years?—Such, I believe, was the fact.

5805. Are you also aware that the loans which were made to the English Boards of Guardians for the building of their workhouses bore an interest of five per cent. from the very commencement?—I was not aware of that. In connexion with that subject, I should wish to observe, since that subject has been introduced, that I believe something about 58,000*l.* has been spent upon the enlargement of workhouses or the building of additional workhouses in Ireland during the last two years. Whether the argument is to be applied generally, as it was in the case of the Limerick workhouse, I do not know; that is to say, whether in those cases the poor-law inspecting officers stated to the Boards of Guardians that the course so pursued was in their opinion and in the opinion of the Government the most desirable one. But without for a moment denying that the loans which were received should have been repaid, I wish to observe that a most important distinction is to be drawn between nugatoryity in the repayment of loans and that repudiation of loans which in this case I have heard brought as a charge against Irish unions.

5806. *Sir R. Ferguson.* What is the case in Rathkeale?—In Rathkeale a considerable addition has been made to the workhouse accommodation; but whether or not there was any communication of the character which I have mentioned in the case of Limerick, between the guardians and the inspecting officers, I am not aware.

5807. Do you know how many instalments have been repaid in Rathkeale?—I am not aware. Another thing to be observed is, that though of course it would have been highly desirable that the repayment of instalments should have taken place progressively during the years which have elapsed since the debt was contracted, yet no reasonable person will imagine that it would have been practicable to have repaid those instalments during the last two years in the case of those unions which have had not the funds necessary for immediate poor-law relief.

5808. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* I think you expressed an opinion that there would be no advantage in forming new unions without building new workhouses in each?—Yes.

5809. Can you make any suggestion how the expenses of building new workhouses are to be defrayed?—If any material objection exists to advancing the funds in the same mode that the money was advanced for the first workhouses, then the only alternative that suggests itself to me is an Irish income tax, which could be capitalized from time to time; and although it has been stated that the income tax is especially an Imperial tax, and therefore should not be devoted to Irish purposes, the only mode I can conceive in which an income tax can within any reasonable period be raised in Ireland for Imperial purposes, is by first applying it, if other fund be forth-coming, to Irish purposes, and thus increasing the prosperity of the country. If before the famine Ireland was thought unequal to an income-tax for Imperial purposes, she can hardly be able

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to pay it after a loss, the mere pecuniary part of which is calculated at 28,000,000 *l.*, a sum as large in proportion to her resources as 338,000,000 *l.* would be to those of Great Britain, supposing the income of the latter to be twelve times as large as that of the former.

5810. In answer to question 5851, you refer to certain expenses connected with the poor, which in England are paid by an annual vote of Parliament, and which in Ireland are not so defrayed; are you aware that at the time when that arrangement was made a large charge upon the Irish county rates was taken upon the Consolidated Fund?—I am aware that the charge of the constabulary was removed from Irish land; but that was not a charge connected with the poor-rates.

5811. But are you aware that at the time when the expenses of half the medical relief, and of the salaries of schoolmasters in England, were taken upon the Exchequer, a very large portion of the expense of the constabulary force in Ireland was taken at the same time upon the Consolidated Fund?—I am aware of that.

5812. And that the whole was part of the same arrangement?—I was not aware of that; but it appears to me that although that fact bears to an important extent upon the question of the relative charges upon Irish and English land, it does not bear upon the question of the charges to be sustained by the poor law in the two countries respectively.

5813. Do not the poor-rate and the county cess in Ireland substantially fall upon the same class of ratepayers?—Yes.

5814. *Sir R. Ferguson.* Is not the poor-rate paid half by the landlord, and the county cess entirely by the occupier?—Yes.

5815. Was not the arrangement which is spoken of made in reference to the repeal of the corn laws, and not in relation to the poor laws?—Yes, certainly.

5816. *Mr. G. C. Lewis.* What is your opinion with respect to the present regulation as to the rating of the owner for tenements under the value of 4 *l.*?—I think the present law on the subject very injurious.

5817. How would you alter it?—I would simply abolish it; I would make the occupier pay whether the holding was larger or smaller.

5818. Do you think it would be possible, under ordinary circumstances, to collect the rate from the lowest class of occupiers in Ireland?—In the first Irish Poor Law the rate was imposed in every case upon the occupier; and I fancy that one reason which was assigned for the change was, that when the holdings were inconsiderable the rate to be collected was frequently so small, that there existed no coin in which it could be paid; I believe, therefore, that in the ordinary state of things, the poor-rate on small holdings would be but a small charge.

5819. Supposing the landlord was not responsible for the small tenements, do you think that the occupier should be required to pay, or that he should be exempted?—I think that he should be required to pay.

5820. What is your opinion with respect to the quarter-acre clause?—I think that that clause was absolutely essential, and that it has done considerable good, but that it has failed in many cases to afford the protection intended by it. I believe that the quarter-acre clause requires not that the tenant should surrender so much of his farm as exceeds a quarter of an acre, but simply that he should cease to occupy and to cultivate it. Under those circumstances, all sorts of abuses have crept into the poor-law administration; the occupier has surrendered for a time with the intention of resuming the land, and has resumed it. I believe, also, that although persons holding more than a quarter of an acre are not entitled to receive relief themselves, their children have been supposed entitled to it, and that in many cases, the law having been so interpreted, they actually have received it.

5821. Probably you are aware that it has been proposed that no increase should be made in the valuation of the land where agricultural improvements have taken place for a certain number of years?—Yes.

5822. Is that a provision which you would approve of?—Certainly, for a certain number of years after the improvement has been made.

5823. Do you think that that provision should extend to town property; to buildings in a town?—I am hardly qualified to answer that question.

5824. Do you know what is the present maximum fixed for the qualification of guardians?—£. 30.

5825. Do

5825. Do you think there is any reason for raising that qualification, or are you satisfied with the law as it is?—I have not considered the question.

5826. Sir W. Sowerville.] I understood you to say that you had turned your attention very much to the difference existing between England and Ireland, as regards the working of the poor law in the two countries?—I have attended to the subject.

5827. Did I correctly understand you to say that one of the greatest difficulties in Ireland, as compared with England, in the working of that law, was the disproportion [between population and capital?—I stated that one of the great difficulties which we have to contend with in Ireland is on account of the disproportion between capital and population.

5828. You think that one of the great difficulties in the way of satisfactorily enforcing the law in Ireland is the disproportion existing between capital and population?—Yes.

5829. Have you any notion, or have you made up your mind, as to what the proportion ought to be between population and capital, in order to secure a satisfactory working of the poor law?—I have entered into no calculations on the subject; but with reference to that subject one may observe, that although the capital of England bears such a high proportion to the population, the working even of the amended poor law in England is not so satisfactory as to divert the system of all difficulty and danger, even in the opinion of those who are, on principle, advocates for a poor law.

5830. Have you turned your attention to the causes which bring about so very different an effect in the working of the law in different parts of Ireland?—I should say that those causes were to be found in the difference which exists in the economical, the social, and the political condition of different parts of Ireland.

5831. The population of Ulster is 2,362,000; the population of Munster is 2,486,000; the valuation of Ulster is 3,297,000 £, and the valuation of Munster is 3,836,000 £; giving the advantage in every way to Munster. The expense of working the law in the 12 months ending the 28th of September was 12. 9d. in the pound in Ulster, and 22. 7d. in the pound in Munster. Can you account for that state of things, the proportion as regards valuation and population being so nearly similar?—In Ulster the people depended, I believe, more on wages and less on corn and the potato, than in Munster. But the comparison illustrates, I think, what I stated before, namely, that we are to take into account the unrated as well as the rated property. Whatever manufactures exist in Ireland, exist chiefly in Ulster; and therefore the wealth of Ulster exceeds that of Munster, although the rated value of each province is as stated; now in proportion to the wealth of the province will be the power of giving employment; and in proportion to the power of giving employment will be the power of keeping rates down.

5832. Then if it could be applied, there would be another remedy for the existing state of things in Munster besides emigration?—Unquestionably. The problem to be solved is that of effecting a right balance between the capital and the population of the country; that can only be done by emigration or by the introduction of capital. But I should add that I believe that emigration is desirable, amongst other reasons, because it is a necessary preliminary to the introduction of capital into Ireland, by removing those obstacles which prevent its introduction at present, and which in their degree prevented it before the famine.

5833. In your Union of Rathkeale the population is 68,000 and the valuation 129,000 £, omitting the fractions; I will take a union nearly contiguous, that of Mallow, which is not very dissimilar, where the population is 68,000 and the valuation 129,000 £, there being no very great difference between the two cases. In the Rathkeale Union I observe that the average number relieved during the month of September, out of each hundred of the population, was nine per cent., while in Mallow it was only one per cent.; can you account for that?—It is curious that many other circumstances are to be taken into account besides the relation which population bears to valuation, when we estimate the power which a union has of keeping rates down. The circumstances to be taken into account are of an economical, of a social, and of a political character. I make this observation especially with reference to the question previously asked regarding Ulster. I replied by referring to the difference in the economical

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naical condition of Ulster and Munster, independently of the valuation of the two provinces; but there are also, of course, social and political differences which are to be taken into account likewise. In Ulster a better species of agriculture exists than in Munster. The same thing will apply to a union in one part of the country and a union in another part; and the reason I should say to be, that from social and political causes there exists a higher amount of energy and of skill, and, above all, a larger amount of capital, whether agricultural or manufacturing, in the northern province than in the southern. We are all aware, that during the last century the penal laws had a very direct tendency to reduce capital, to prevent the acquisition of knowledge, and also to sap those habits of self-reliance and self-respect which are the foundation of industrial prosperity, and which therefore produce the power of supporting a large population in any particular district. Ulster being Protestant chiefly was not affected by these laws.

5834. Do you think that any of those social and political causes which you have now enumerated are to be taken into consideration in comparing the condition of the Rathkeale and Mallow Unions?—Not the political, but it is very possible that the social condition of the Mallow Union may be far better than that of Rathkeale.

5835. Is it so?—I am not acquainted with Mallow.

5836. *Mr. Mawell.* Are you aware that the works of the Great Southern and Western Railway have given a very large amount of employment in the Mallow Union?—That would account in part for its superior prosperity.

5837. *Sir W. Somerville.* Is that employment confined to the inhabitants of the Mallow Union; would not the inhabitants of Rathkeale be perfectly at liberty to seek employment there, and would not they get it if they did?—I should think they were very little likely to get it.

5838. *Mr. O'Flaherty.* Would it be possible for the inhabitants of Rathkeale to go to such a distance as to Mallow to get employment?—No man near Rathkeale would think that he was at all likely to get employment by going to Mallow, because we know that there is a great redundancy of the labouring population in almost every part of the country. However it may be locally relieved, it always exists. He would have a better chance by going to England.

5839. *Sir W. Somerville.* Are you aware whether the same difference existed previously to this employment having been given in the Mallow Union?—I am not. I do not know Mallow.

5840. Do you think that more attention to the affairs of the union, and a superior management on the part of the Boards of Guardians, would at all account for that different state of things?—I think that the zeal and skill with which the poor-law administration is locally conducted must always re-act in an important degree upon the amount of rate raised or required; but then we must recollect that the energy, ability, and skill which are required for the administration of the poor law in Ireland are far greater than the amount required in England. The pressure of pauperism is greater with us, because the poor law has been introduced but recently into Ireland, and we have a famine to deal with. Moreover those qualities which I have mentioned, energy, ability, and administrative power, not only are of slow growth, but can never be expected to exist in classes to any extraordinary degree; individuals possess them in an extraordinary degree, but we must be content with finding them to an average degree in classes.

5841. *Mr. P. Scrope.* May not the differences in the amount of pauperism in different parts of Ireland be in a great degree attributed to the different management of property now and for some time past in those districts; such as the absenteeism of landlords in the one district, their presence and co-operation with their tenants in improving their estates in others; and similar causes resulting from the good feeling and the good management of estates in one district, and the neglect and the mismanagement of estates in the other?—Certainly. But if we thus revert from the present to a former state of things in Ireland; from the existing landlords, for instance, to the conduct of landlords who preceded them, I think that we are bound in justice to go a little further back. It was not neither choice nor compulsion, but want of capital and knowledge, which drove the Irish farmer so much on the system of potato culture and small subdivisions. I have already observed that the present economical condition of Ireland is very much to be referred to the penal laws which existed during the last century.

century. They were not merely laws directed against a particular religion: they debarred the mass of the people from the acquisition of property, from inheriting or bequeathing it, from taking leases, from professions, from trade, from political privileges, and from education. These causes exercise an influence which does not cease the moment the laws are repealed. I will illustrate that statement by a despatch recently sent from Sir J. Emerson Tennent to Lord Grey; he speaks of Ceylon: "Though seldom in want of the first necessities of life, and although the great mass of the population is very much elevated above that which constitutes poverty in other countries, it is a singular fact, and somewhat discouraging, that there is not a single native capitalist in Ceylon, though some are proprietors of land to a considerable extent, and enjoy a corresponding rank and influence in their localities. Under their former rulers the low country was in the hands of the Dutch, who asserted their monopoly over all commerce, under capital penalties. The population of the high lands and mountains of the interior were in like manner prohibited by their rulers from all trade or even intercourse with foreigners; money was unknown amongst them, inasmuch as there was nothing on which to expend or in which to invest it. The King was the absolute owner of all lands, and never permitted their alienation to private parties, merely permitting their temporary cultivation as the reward of public services; and thus property in land being unattainable and commerce prohibited, the accumulation of money was never thought of by the natives, and rank and the power of oppression became the sole objects of ambition." I quote the passage to illustrate the fact, that effects continue to be produced long after the immediate cause has ceased. If the cause be forgotten, both the disease and the cure will be mistaken.

5842. You expressed a general opinion that the over-population is very great indeed in Ireland; that the labour market is overstocked?—Yes.

5843. But at the same time you admitted that there is great room for the employment of the people in various ways, particularly in the improvement of the land?—Certainly.

5844. That the land might be made to produce double or quadruple what it now produces, by the increased employment of the people?—Certainly; in some places.

5845. Do not you think, therefore, that it would be more correct to describe the country as under-cultivated than as over-peopled?—I do not think that there is the slightest antagonism between the two propositions. Both might be asserted; but I believe the fact to be that the country, if you take it on an average, is over-peopled even with reference to a high cultivation. In particular districts I admit that it is under-peopled with reference to cultivation, although over-peopled with reference to capital; and in such cases I have already stated that I think a large emigration, being the first thing necessary to facilitate the introduction of capital, is necessary for the improvement of agriculture.

5846. You stated that in the time of Swift, when the population was only a million and a half, over-population was complained of; do you think that emigration was required in order to facilitate the introduction of capital at that time?—I should think that other remedies to which one would more naturally and willingly resort, would at that time have been quite sufficient.

5847. The complaint of the present time is that the country is over-peopled, but in reality you admit that it is under-cultivated; why at the present time should not those other remedies be resorted to, they being more natural, namely, the employment of the people, and the improvement of the land, rather than taking them away to a foreign country?—In the first place, because at this moment we labour under a potato failure, which having deprived about 2,000,000 of our population of their sole mode of support, affects us practically as if 2,000,000 had been added to our population in the course of a week; and in the second place, because in the time of Dean Swift not only was the amount of over-population an average, not an extraordinary, state of things, but the measures which would at that time have conduced to the introduction of capital, were the removal of those penal laws which forbade industry, prevented the farmer from taking a lease, and interfered with the power of buying and selling; and also the repeal of all measures oppressive to Irish commerce. That was the course of measures which ought to have been adopted in the first instance at that time; and if that had been insufficient, the question of emigration would then have arisen.

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5848. Is there not very much in the state of the law, as it exists at present, which though not of the same nature exactly as those penal laws which you have described as having formerly repressed industry, has the effect of repressing the industry of the peasantry of Ireland; the want of security of tenure, for example; the monopoly of the land in the hands, for a great part, of proprietors who either cannot or will not make a proper use of it; the embarrassments produced by incumbrances and settlements of all descriptions, which tie up the land and prevent the people of the country from making a good use of it; are not those the injurious effects of the law which might be removed by alterations in the law, and thus great encouragement be given to industry by giving to it a greater security for the enjoyment of its fruits?—I have stated with respect to the tenure of land, that I thought laws which affirmed the principle that all contracts between landlord and tenant should be written contracts, and which gave a practical operation to the provisions against subletting, hitherto a dead letter, would do good. I have also stated that if any laws could be introduced which gave the tenant a more secure return for the capital which he invests in improvements, I think that would be an advantage, but I am not prepared to state what those laws should be, or whether anything of the kind would be found necessary if, that over-population and those unnatural circumstances under which we at present labour being removed, the whole condition of society ceased to be morbid and become natural. I think that the apparent necessity for such laws has in many cases resulted from that antagonism between class and class which is the inevitable result of over-population; two classes, like two individuals, struggling for that which is insufficient for both.

5849. *Chairman.*] In point of fact, do you believe, or do you know, that a tenant possessed of capital, and of good character, finds a greater difficulty in Ireland in obtaining a secure tenure than he does in Scotland or in England?—I should think that a farmer possessing the capital and the science of the English or Scotch farmer, far from meeting with any difficulties as to his tenure from the landlord, would meet with every encouragement from him. He might meet with many difficulties from the population surrounding him, as those agrarian outrages which result from over-population would of course affect him.

5850. As compared with other countries, do you believe that the tenure of land in Ireland, as between landlord and tenant, is less secure or less fixed than it is elsewhere?—I am not aware that it is, as I have already stated, except so far as that insecurity is produced, not by the state of the law, but by the pressure of population and consequent disorganization of society.

5851. Then if in those other countries the security has not been produced by an alteration of the law, have you any good ground for supposing that the security which is absent now from Ireland will be produced by legal alterations?—I think that it would be impossible to produce such a security as would render practicable a good system of agriculture, except you remove that over-population which is inconsistent with the preservation of peace.

5852. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Is not a large portion of the surface of Ireland held from year to year at will?—Yes. I believe that is the case in England also.

5853. And are not the occupiers generally required to build their own houses and all their farm buildings, and to make all the permanent improvements which they may require for carrying on their farms?—That is the practice of the country.

5854. And are you not aware that there have been innumerable instances of farmers who have made those improvements and others, such as the reclamation of waste lands attached to their holdings, having had their rents raised as a consequence, or having been turned out to make way for tenants who would pay higher rents?—I do not happen personally to be acquainted with such instances; but I have no doubt that such exist, because, of course, in a large community such instances must exist. To say that they do not exist would be to say that Irish proprietors are a set of men possessed of far more than average public spirit and sense of duty. But I must distinguish between the two questions asked me in the form of one. I am asked whether tenants have not been frequently evicted, in order that their lands might be let at a higher value to somebody else, and whether their rents have not been raised. Those are two distinct questions. If their rent has been raised, that opens the question of whether it has been raised too high, or whether it has been raised only so much as it ought to have been raised. Of course, when a landlord lets a farm which, if well cultivated, would

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be worth 1*l.* an acre, for 10*l.* an acre, he expects that he, as proprietor, should have an advantage derived from the gradual improvement of agriculture; and the question is, whether he gets his share, or more than his share. The farmer has equally a right to expect an ample remuneration for the capital laid out. But if it were asserted that a proprietor was not to raise his rents when the land had been improved, that would amount to a general statement that the value of landed property in Ireland is never to increase; in other words, that the present proprietors are never to enjoy any benefit from the undeveloped industrial resources of the country.

5855. Do you mean to say that you are not acquainted with the fact that a great sense of insecurity does exist throughout all parts of Ireland amongst the tenantry, owing to the parties holding having been deprived of the benefit of their improvements?—I have no doubt that insecurity exists. I have stated that I think that that insecurity is produced mainly by that social state which results from over-population; and I have stated also, that I believe that in many cases acts of injustice have been perpetrated.

5856. Supposing a man to have a permanent interest in his farm, a perpetuity lease, or a freehold tenure, would he not be likely to improve it much more and employ more labour, and would not that, by increasing the produce of the country, increase the proportion of capital in the country to its population?—In proportion as the period of a lease is long, it would be worth while for the farmer to employ a larger amount of capital upon improvements, and perhaps it might sometimes be expedient to give leases for ever. I have already stated that it would be very useful to encourage a class of peasant proprietors, but if any law were made to compel proprietors to give leases for ever, at the present value of land, or if the same object were effected in any other manner which prevented their gaining by improved cultivation, in other words, their enjoying the benefit resulting from the potentialities of their property, it seems to me that this would be as unjust as if you were to tell a labourer planting a tree by his homestead, that so much of the tree as already existed belonged to him, but that whatever additional timber it made should belong to the parish; or told a farmer that his present stock belonged to him, but that the increase of his cattle should be assigned to his neighbour.

5857. Have the landlords generally in the south and west of Ireland developed the potentialities of the soil to anything like the degree that might be expected from such a class of peasant proprietors as you have recommended?—In some parts of Ireland much more than in others I should say; for instance, in Leinster and in Ulster.

5858. I am confining my question to the west and south?—The degree in which they have done so varies in every union and in every electoral division.

5859. *Chairman.*] Has it come to your knowledge that the landlords of any part of Ireland are in the habit of dispossessing tenants who punctually pay up their rent?—I should say not; I will not say of course that there are no such instances, but I think that such sweeping charges should not be made without demonstration, because they attach odium to a class, and a class does not possess that power of vindicating its character which an individual possesses; it cannot refer to documents, and confute misstatements. I do not think that such charges are fairly brought against Irish proprietors; I may also observe, that although Irish rents are considered high in the sense of bearing a large proportion to the produce raised, they are by no means large, on the contrary, I believe that they are small, when compared with the value of the land let, supposing that land to be tolerably well cultivated. The English farmer is a capitalist farmer; he invests perhaps 10*l.* an acre in his land, and of course he receives the interest of the capital laid out, besides his other gains.

5860. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Is it not a fact that there is, or has been for some time past, in Ireland, in the hands of the farmers, a large amount of capital lying dormant and inactive in savings banks, or in other accumulations?—That is true.

5861. What do you suppose is the reason that they have not expended that capital in the more spirited cultivation of their farms, and in increased production?—I think that it results partly from the fact that they are deficient in skill and in energy, and in habits of self-reliance and self-dependence. It proceeds also in a large degree from that insecurity which results from lawlessness, and therefore indirectly from over-population; and in particular

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instances no doubt it may result from a want of security of tenure, and from other causes connected with the faults of individuals.

5862. *Chairman.*] Would the fact that they are able to invest large sums in savings banks, and in securities other than the cultivation of their farms, induce you to believe that, generally speaking, they hold farms too highly rented?—It would indicate rather that they had been able to save money; and the inference would be, that the land might have been let at a higher rent.

5863. *Sir W. Somerville.*] Does your experience lead you to the conclusion that the farmer in the possession of a tolerably long lease, in consequence of more secure tenure, expends more money upon his farm, and has it in a better condition, than the man who holds at will?—I am myself an advocate for leases, and for leases of considerable duration, but rather on abstract principles than in consequence of anything which I have observed. The worst cases of cultivation in all Ireland are cases in which there have existed very long leases, and leases consequently giving a large beneficial interest to the tenant. He is less stimulated to improvement, because he has the land so much under its value that he can afford to live without such improvements. I should say, therefore, that too low rents as well as too high, had a tendency to prevent the development of the agricultural resources of the country.

5864. But independently of the rent, the absence of a sufficient tenure has not been the cause of preventing that individual from expending his money?—Certainly not.

5865. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Where those durable tenures have existed, has not subdivision and subletting been the consequent result?—In many cases subdivision and subletting is to be found upon these properties.

5866. If that had been prevented by careful management, and the tenants had been required to reside upon their estates, and there had been some covenants for improvement introduced, if the tenant had not been allowed to be put into the condition of a landlord, might not the result have been very different?—I think it would be impracticable and unnecessary to pass a law compelling tenants to reside on their farms. The tenants are in the habit of residing on their farms.

5867. Do not you know that it is the universal practice in England for the tenant to be required to reside on his farm; did you ever hear of a tenant in England being allowed to live upon another, except under special circumstances?—I speak especially with regard to the case of Ireland.

5868. *Chairman.*] Do you know whether it is possible in Ireland legally to enforce the covenants of leases?—I have stated that I believe it to be at present impracticable; with respect to subletting and subdivision, although laws have been passed upon that subject more than once, recognizing the necessity of preventing subdivision and subletting, yet the provisions connected with those laws have not been of such a character as to enable proprietors to carry them into execution; and though for many years past proprietors in many parts of Ireland have been quite aware of the great danger which they, in common with the whole country, incurred from subletting and subdivision, they have been unable to prevent it in consequence of the deficiency of the law.

5869. Is not the trial of such a covenant submitted to the decision of a jury composed of the very parties who have a fellow feeling with the tenant farmer who has violated the covenant?—Yes.

5870. And in a vast majority of instances has not that been the cause why landlords have been defeated when they have entered into a court of law upon the subject?—Yes.

5871. *Mr. P. Scrope.*] Though that may have been the case of recent years, was not it the practice till within a very late period for landlords to encourage the multiplication of subtenantry upon their estates with a view to political influence?—During the time of the 40s. freehold there were numerous instances of that nature; but I believe that to attribute the over-population of Ireland in any large degree to that would be altogether erroneous.

5872. You recommend emigration, I understand, as suited to the temporary emergency to relieve that local congestion of population which you think scares away capital at present; do not you think that other means might be adopted which would have that effect as completely without removing the population from the country, such as their employment for a time on large public works which should become ultimately productive, and should tend to the further development

development of the resources of the country, and consequently to create a permanent field for employment?—I have already stated that the undertaking of really useful public works, under circumstances which prevented the possibility of the labour expended upon them degenerating into pauper labour, would be highly salutary; it would not only tend to meet the emergency under which we are now labouring, but if those works were well selected, they would lend, after their own cessation, to further and continued employment.

5873. Take a single county, and one of the most distressed ones. Take the county of Mayo. I think you have admitted that the county of Mayo at present is rather under-peopled, as compared with the capabilities of its soil for maintaining its population?—What I stated was, that I hardly regarded Mayo as at present one of those cases in which emigration was most desirable, because, although a very large population exists there, it is stated by the inspecting officer that you can hardly find an able-bodied man there; and I should be very unwilling either to force or to assist any person to emigrate who was not likely to prosper in the colony. I do not know whether or not Mayo is under-peopled, considered with reference to the resources of the land.

5874. Going back to a year or two ago, before the population of Mayo was reduced to the incapacity to work which you describe by the famine, do not you think that the soil possessed capabilities for maintaining its population if it were properly cultivated?—I should think it very possible on this ground, that it is almost impossible to assign any limit to the number who can be employed in a particular district, if you go upon the large assumption that the capital is sufficient. It might have been said long ago that the industrial resources of England were capable of supporting the number of persons now inhabiting England, though at that period they could not have earned their bread, as they are now enabled to do very much in consequence of our having founded colonies. It might be said now that the resources of England are sufficient to support double the number who live there; I think it highly probable that the time will come when double the number of the present inhabitants of England will find profitable employment.

5875. Supposing Mayo to possess natural resources hitherto undeveloped, sufficient to remunerate capital, capital would probably be inclined to flow in, if there were facilities for its employment there, from other quarters: it need not positively grow up in Mayo itself?—Assuredly not; one of the most remarkable facts connected with Ireland is that, owing to circumstances, many of which I have mentioned, capital has been repelled from Ireland. The capital of Great Britain has been flowing in almost every direction; remote regions have been fertilized by it. It is therefore, I apprehend, on account of the existence of obstacles which act like a great bar damming up British capital, that it does not find its way into Ireland.

5876. Those obstacles which prevent the introduction of British capital into Ireland, or the expenditure of Irish capital in Ireland, in the development of its resources, are, you think, the result of over-population?—I think that they result in a great degree from over-population, but they result from other causes also. They result in a great degree from that lawlessness which I have connected with over-population; and further obstacles to the introduction of capital into Ireland are undoubtedly to be found in the great ignorance and prejudice which prevail in England with respect to the character of the various classes of the Irish community, both the higher and the lower.

5877. If the tenure of land in Ireland, and especially in Connaught and Munster, had been long since put upon a better footing, I mean not only the tenant's tenure but the landlord's tenure; would there not have been a probability of a large influx of capital from England as well as from the towns of Ireland, for investment in the improvement of that land?—With reference to the present time, I do not think that any sweeping measure is required; although various provisions of detail, as I have already said, would be desirable. But with reference to the more immediate subject of the question, namely, former times, I think that the largest improvement respecting land, would have been the repeal of those laws which prevented a Roman-catholic from possessing or inheriting property, or taking a lease of land.

5878. Have you looked at Captain Larcom's Tables of Agricultural Returns for Ireland; do you know that he there states that out of 14,000,000 of acres of cultivated land in Ireland, only 5,000,000 were under crop of any kind in 1847?

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—I fully believe that the agriculture of Ireland is exceedingly bad; I have assigned various causes for that circumstance.

5879. Is it not the fact then that much of the land in Ireland is now idle, the population also comparatively idle, and a great deal of the capital idle, and that what is really wanted is to put them all in activity together?—Certainly; and that is quite true.

5880. Colonel Duane.] You have objected to a maximum rate?—Yes.

5881. And you have stated that it had not answered in England?—Yes.

5882. Do you consider that to support the poor the law should go to the full extent of confiscation of property?—I am wholly opposed to all confiscation of property, agricultural, commercial, or any species of property; and in Ireland I think we have had too many confiscations already.

5883. If you have not a maximum rate, how are you able to prevent that confiscation?—I think that the error of a maximum rate may be briefly described as that of endeavouring to define what is, properly speaking, incapable of definition. It is obvious that if the rate should continue for a long time to exceed practically a certain maximum it must end in confiscation, and that such an occurrence should be guarded against; but it does not follow that it is either sound in philosophy, or practically useful, to begin by defining by law what that maximum is. On the contrary, it may well be said that allowing the whole annual produce of the land to be the thing at stake, tends to keep rates down in a far more effectual manner than proscribing any definite maximum. The real securities will be of a different kind.

5884. You said "confiscation;" confiscation of what?—Of property.

5885. Mr. Bright.] What property do you mean; the whole property over which the rate in aid extends, or to what property do you apply the term, confiscation? You stated that if the rates exceeded the maximum for any long time, it must end in confiscation?—I say that in such case we must of course look to confiscation as the end, as confiscation was found actually to be the end in certain parishes of England previously to the reform of the poor law. In England the difficulty was met by reforming the poor law, and it was then found that by far the greater part of the danger had arisen from imperfection in the details of the poor law. In Ireland the difficulty is produced partly by the details of the poor law, but principally by the fact that the poor law is applied in a case of famine; therefore the only means by which confiscation can be averted in Ireland is by introducing other measures calculated to meet a famine as well as reforming those details. Confiscation would not be prevented in Ireland even by so lamentable an occurrence as the death of an enormous number of our population, because in proportion as paupers are removed another class is added to the number of paupers; that is to say, the class of farmers broken down by exorbitant rates. It is therefore quite possible, that although the original amount of over population might have been only 1,000,000, the actual reduction in the population, if no new measure is introduced, might reach 2,000,000 or 3,000,000; and, in fact, that a larger number of persons might die, the poor-law relief not preventing an enormous mortality, than were originally exposed to the danger of death.

5886. Colonel Duane.] In the present state of Ireland, taking the present circumstances into account, is there any possible means to prevent confiscation, except the proposition made by the Government of a maximum rate?—I think that the Government proposition of a maximum rate will not have the effect of preventing confiscation.

5887. How can it go beyond the maximum rate. If I understand the Government proposition, it is that no tax in an electoral division should go beyond 5s. in one year; how then could confiscation follow from that?—That would work as a confiscation of a quarter of the property, I think; and when the maximum was reached, it would practically become necessary to pass it.

5888. That would be by extraneous aid?—Extraneous aid would be required in that case.

5889. Therefore the only thing which you have then to decide is, where that extraneous aid is to come from?—Certainly.

5890. Whether it is from the union, from the nation, or from the empire?—Yes.

5891. You objected to a union rate of 2s.?—Yes.

5892. I do not think that you assigned your reason?—I object to the union rate

rate of 2s., on the ground that I object to the principle of a rate in aid generally; it deprives the frugal and industrious of their reward; and on the ground that a union rate of 2s. would make the area of taxation practically a union area, and not an electoral area.

5893. Would not the same objection exist to a national rate?—To a certain degree.

5894. And does not it exist within an electoral division, because in that case one pays for another within the area?—If the electoral division be too large. It then produces a prejudicial effect in two different ways. One is, that it prevents combination among employers; the other is, that it may very frequently be the interest of ratepayers in a particular part of that electoral division rather to allow a pauper to go upon the rates than to give him relief themselves, either through employment or through charity, their proportionate part of the rate being small.

5895. It has been said that the guardians of the union have a power over the dispensation of the rate sufficient to check it by their power in the Board. Have not the Commissioners on the part of the national rate quite as much or more power; have not the Commissioners, through their inspectors, the same power to direct the administration of the national rate as the local guardians have over the union rate?—I apprehend so.

5896. Did I understand you correctly to say, that one of the great evils has arisen in applying a poor law to a famine, such a famine as now exists in Ireland?—Such I believe to be the root of the evil.

5897. In your opinion would it not be better, instead of extending the famine, to apply peculiar measures suited to the occasion?—That seems to me to be the obvious course.

5898. Do you not think that in applying those measures and those means, the object should be to make the money laid out productive?—Certainly.

5899. And do not you think that it is possible without interfering with the labour market of Ireland, to do so even at this moment?—Yes.

5900. Therefore in your opinion the poor law should be framed on the strict principles of a poor law, and the measures to relieve the country from its present distress should be different and auxiliary?—Yes; I attach great importance to the principle that a poor law should be invariably confined to such functions as a poor law is expressly intended for. There are many other things desirable in Ireland which are wholly unconnected with the poor-law, and I think it impracticable to realize such by a poor-law agency. In adapting the poor law to a case of famine you disqualify it from performing its proper and ordinary functions, and actually make it produce effects the precise opposite of those desired.

5901. Therefore, if I understand you, our legislation at present as to the poor law should be with reference to the permanent poor law, and without regarding the actual situation of Ireland at this moment?—As far as possible it ought to be so. For the temporary emergency we require specific temporary measures.

5902. Have you considered the expense of administration under the present system?—I know that it is very high.

5903. Do not you think that it is unnecessarily high?—It is obvious, that so far as it is connected with paid guardians, that expense is unavoidably increased; but at the same time those who object on principle, as I do, to paid guardians, must of course regret that in order to carry that part of the system into effect it is necessary to misapply funds which would otherwise be devoted to the direct support of the people.

5904. But paid guardians are an evil inherent in the present system?—Certainly, as long as a poor law is applied to a famine.

5905. Do you think it would be possible to withdraw out-door relief at this moment, without giving some substitute which should support the poor outside?—No.

5906. Do not you think that if the harvest should turn out favourably a very small amount, comparatively, would be requisite for the actual support of the people?—Small as compared to the present amount; but I do not think that the occurrence of a favourable harvest would put us back either into the state in which we were formerly, or into a favourable state.

5907. But it would make a considerable difference as to the demand to be made upon any means which may be thought fit to be applied?—Yes.

5908. Do not you think that a union rate would be better as applied to establishment

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fishment charges, or any charges previous to the support of the local poor?—I think so. It exists for such general purposes.

5909. It is said that the advances for the workhouses have not been repaid; was not the reason of the nonpayment, that the greater number of the unions were under an absolute impossibility of even providing for pressing wants of their own?—That must have been the case in all those unions which were unable to support their poor.

5910. Were not the works conducted at a very unnecessary expense, and very unpopular among the people; was not the expense in building those workhouses much more than was necessary?—I was not aware of that fact.

5911. Are you aware, with respect to the taxes on land in Ireland, what comparison they bear with those in England, or whether they are at all or much higher?—That is a subject which I have not considered.

5912. Are you aware that the allowances for roads and public works in England are much larger in proportion than in Ireland?—I was not aware of that.

5913. Are you aware that the allowance for the police mentioned by Mr. Lewis was given as a compensation for the duty on spirits, which I understand was removed?—It was a compensation.

5914. Are you aware that almost the entire taxation in Ireland arises from land?—I believe so.

5915. Are you aware of the inconvenience arising from the capricious changes made in the boundaries of the unions from the old and established boundaries of the country?—I am not acquainted with those particular circumstances.

5916. You have not attended Boards of Guardians?—Not habitually.

5917. Can you give an opinion whether it would be advantageous to manage the poor law by means of counties, baronies, and by the old divisions in comparison with the present divisions?—I think that our present unions are decidedly too large. The alteration which I should think it desirable to make would be, that of increasing the number of unions and reducing their size.

5918. By counties or by subdivision of counties? Have you formed any opinion as to the advantages of such divisions as would enable those who have for centuries worked together, to administer the law as they do the grand jury laws and other laws?—I should think that, so far as the limits of unions and of electoral divisions can be made coincident with the long known and established boundaries of the country, such as counties, baronies, and parishes, without at the same time interfering with the dimensions which it is expedient on other grounds to assign to the electoral division and the union, it would be highly desirable to shape them accordingly.

5919. You stated that you wished to encourage peasant proprietors; have you ever thought how you could prevent that subdivision which occurs in France and other countries if you were to establish peasant proprietors?—The danger I think would exist, although it would be less imminent, in consequence of the experience which we have gone through, and on account of the better system of agriculture which I anticipate; but I think it would possibly be necessary to guard against it by special enactments.

5920. Are you not aware that great inconvenience and great injury arise in France at this moment from the subdivision of property?—I believe that difficulties exist and that danger is anticipated.

5921. Are you not aware that in many parts of France there is no agricultural cultivation, so small are the farms?—Yes.

5922. And that the peasant proprietors are actually very miserable?—I believe that is the case in various parts of France, and that the divisions are so small that the number of proprietors exceeds the number of farmers, a single capitalist renting a number of peasant properties, and raising a larger produce than could be raised if they remained separate.

5923. Are you acquainted with Switzerland?—No.

5924. *Sir L. O'Brien.* You have spoken of scattering those peasant proprietors among the large owners of estates in Ireland?—Yes; if they were placed, as home colonists together, on vast tracts of reclaimed lands, both experiments would be tried at a great disadvantage.

5925. How would you prevent them from turning their properties into pauper villages?—I have already said that I thought if any such object were to be effected by a legislative course, it would probably be necessary to introduce provisions preventing the occurrence of such evils as have been referred to.

5926. Then

5926. Then, in fact, you would interfere with their rights of property as proprietors?—If their properties were created by legislative means, I suppose it would be necessary to attach conditions to the possession.

5927. Colonel Duane.] You anticipate an improved cultivation; but can you anticipate that for some years that cultivation would afford a much larger support to the people than at present; must it not be gradual?—Yes.

5928. Can you state how soon an improved cultivation would add to the support of the people?—It must vary in different places. With reference to improvements, such as reclamations of waste lands, such an undertaking is only possible on the supposition that those who invest capital in it can wait a considerable time for the return of that capital.

5929. Are you not aware that the extinction of the potato has put a stop to such improvements in Ireland, in most cases?—Unquestionably.

5930. Did not the crop of potatoes stimulate improvement?—Certainly.

5931. And the extinction of that crop is a considerable bar to the improvement of waste, or half-waste lands in Ireland?—Yes.

5932. Sir L. O'Brien.] Does not a species of peasant proprietorship exist in Ireland in the leasehold owners of land?—I do not know that they can be considered as on the same level with peasant proprietors. The actual possession of property in fee I think affects the imagination and the whole moral being in such a way as to stimulate to exertions, and to promote agricultural improvements which would not be produced by a very long lease.

5933. Colonel Duane.] What is the length of the leases in your part of the country?—They are very various in their duration.

5934. Have you not many of three lives, or 31 years?—I think not.

5935. Sir L. O'Brien.] Have you any instances of peasant proprietors in your eye whom you have seen in a flourishing condition?—Not in Ireland; but they are to be found, as is well known, in many countries of Europe. I believe that they are found to prosper economically; I believe that they conduce in many cases to a very high state of society morally considered. Their own position is at once humble and dignified; and they seem to me to contribute to the political security of the country by widening the basis upon which all property stands.

5936. Mr. P. Scrope.] Is not it a fact that the peasantry of France, in spite of the *surcroisement* which has been going on to so great an extent, and which is so often written and spoken of, are in a ten times more comfortable condition than the peasantry in Ireland, and even a great deal more comfortable than the labouring classes in agricultural districts in England?—I believe that they are far better off than the poorer classes in Ireland.

5937. Colonel Duane.] At this moment?—I should think that they are better off in general than the peasant class of society in Ireland was, even before the potato failure.

5938. To what part of France does that observation apply?—I speak of France generally. I should qualify that statement by saying that I believe there are parts of France in which the *surcroisement* has gone on so long that their state is no longer prosperous, and that with respect to the future their prospect is either utter destitution, or else that they should cease to increase; in other words, that marriage, and all the moral and social ties of which it is the root, should cease. This is the abuse of the system.

5939. Mr. P. Scrope.] My question did not refer to the future; but I asked you as to a fact. Do you not know that the agricultural population of France is in a much more comfortable position than the working population of England?—I cannot answer the question as regards England. With reference to England however, I know that a class of peasant proprietors exists in the north called by the name of *statemen*. They live principally in Cumberland and Westmorland. Their properties are often no more than 30, 40, or 50 acres. Those properties are amongst the oldest in the land; they have been transmitted from father to son often for many hundred years. Their possessors have lived upon them with comfort and respectability; and the very fact that they have neither been materially enlarged nor diminished proves, that while on the one hand no extraordinary accumulation of wealth was produced by them, on the other hand they did not conduce to habits of idleness or prodigality.

5940. Or over population?—Or over population; I should say that that was a very high development of human society.

5941. Colonel Duane.] Have you seen a similar class in Ireland, chiefly the descendants of Cromwell's soldiers?—No, I have not.

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5942. Are you aware that there are such in parts of Ireland?—I was not aware of it.

5943. Have you formed any estimate of the amount of emigration which in your opinion would be required, or do you only apply it to the parts with which you are acquainted?—I think it impossible to ascertain the amount without knowing what other measures are to be introduced in addition to emigration.

5944. The sum which would be applied in emigration you cannot conceive to be applied more usefully?—Not so usefully.

5945. Are you aware of the sum drawn out of Ireland annually by absentees?—I do not know how much it is; but I know it is large.

5946. Do you not consider that that continual drain upon the country is one of the great causes of the permanent impoverishment of Ireland?—I am sure it is.

5947. And that any law which would tend to lessen that absenteeism must be of benefit to Ireland?—Certainly; any law not inconsistent with the rights of property.

5948. Sir J. O'Brien.] Is it not found that a tenantry under a liberal and wealthy landlord, particularly if he resides, is in a much better condition than peasant proprietors?—I should say not in a better condition than peasant proprietors in many parts of Europe; I am not acquainted with the case of peasant proprietors in Ireland.

5949. Take the case of an English farmer?—I think that the position of an English farmer is in general less dignified and less happy than the condition of the class of peasant proprietors whom I have referred to as existing in the north.

5950. Colonel Dunne.] Do you consider that the abuses connected with the poor law which exist in Ireland result from the national character, or from the poor law itself?—That is a most important consideration; because it is often asserted that the abuses to which I have referred result from qualities inherent in the Irish character, and that therefore it is not an amendment in the poor law which we require. My belief is that those abuses proceed mainly from the mischievous details of our poor law, and from the misapplication of that law; and I am induced to think so by the circumstance, that the same abuses existed in various parts of England until the English poor law was amended. I shall read a few extracts on that subject from the report on the administration and operation of the poor laws for the year 1833. The following extracts mark the similarity of the abuses proceeding from the extended Irish poor law and the English poor law before it was amended. The Commissioners of 1833 state in their report that "the great source of abuse is the out-door relief afforded to the able-bodied." They characterize that form of relief again, in the conclusion of their report, as "the master evil of the system." The following is illustrative of the intimidation practised ("Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws," 1833, page 27): "The assistant overseers having been then ill-treated by the mobs, are reluctant to make complaints for neglect of work lest they should become marked men, and their lives rendered uncomfortable or even unsafe." Again: "The farmers are afraid to express at vestry meetings their opinions against a pauper who applies for relief for fear their premises should be set fire to." Then, as illustrative of connivance with outrages (page 384), "Some months before the barns of the tithes lessee had been destroyed by an incendiary well known, but yet protected by the sympathy of his fellows." Elsewhere we read of a man who was hanged for participation in these outrages, but who, far from being an object of abhorrence, was exhibited in his coffin, and honoured as a martyr. "Whether the inhabitants would be willing to come forward as special constables depends on the political feeling of the moment," page 29. In page 104 of the Poor-law Report of 1833 we read, "The destruction of property has now become so common, that where men want resolution to be the ministers of their own vengeance, wretches are to be found who for a trifling reward will execute it for them." And in page 290: "It was immediately suspected by the paupers that I was opposed to their interest. On the door of the first vestry I attended, I found affixed a notice, 'That they intended washing their hands in my blood.'" In page 168 of the volume on the "Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws," 1833, we read, "Riots and destruction of property were carried to great lengths in this neighbourhood. Some of the magistrates raised their scale of relief on this occasion, and went round themselves to the farmers, to insist upon their giving higher wages, and making larger allowances to men with families." As illustrative of the economical

nical ruin effected or threatened (page 87) : "At the present moment, some of the proprietors, in answer to communications from me upon parish affairs, have confessed an intention to abandon altogether their property in the parish, rather than give themselves further trouble about it, from their actually having lost money by it, the rates having more than swallowed up the rents."—(Case of Cholesbury.) Page 89 : "The existing cultivation becomes not only unprofitable, but a source of absolute loss. And as every diminution of cultivation has a double effect in increasing the rate on the remaining cultivation, the number of unemployed labourers being increased at the same instant that the fund for payment of rates is diminished, the abandonment of property when it has once begun is likely to proceed in a constantly accelerated ratio.

* * * Scarcely a year elapsed between the first land going out of cultivation and the abandonment of all except 16 acres." Illustrative of its effects on industry and frugality (page 83) : "The poor laws have produced so much dependence and improvidence among them, that if for a few weeks only they are deprived of parish aid they incur delata. * * * Thus a spirit of recklessness and dishonesty is promoted, detrimental to the moral character of the very best of them." Cholesbury was one of the rare instances in which a rate-in-aid has been applied in England. It is thus commented on in page 95 : "This mode of supporting the poor of an insolvent parish is a great grievance to the one rated, as the one selected for that purpose is generally that in which through good management of the poor the rates are so reduced as to attract the notice of neighbouring parishes." Illustrative of the frauds given rise to (page 214) : "The parish officers of St. James's, Westminster, state that on one occasion, in the month of November last, upwards of 50 paupers were offered admission into the workhouse in lieu of giving them out-door relief, and that of that number only four accepted the offer." In page 145 : "The poor-rate is considered by the lower orders as a fund in which they have an absolute property, and they do not scruple at artifice, fraud, or violence to establish their right to it;" and in page 209, "Single men in our parish have preferred 8 s. a week for working on the roads or in the gravel pits, to 7 s. or 8 s. a week for working for the farmer." Illustrative of the labour-rate system, in page 219 of the Report of 1834 : "Under the labour-rate system, relief and wages are confounded. The wages partake of relief, and the relief partakes of wages. The labourer is employed not because he is a good workman, but because he is a parishioner." Again, in the Report of 1834, at page 32 : "Mr. Richardson states that in Selgrave, Northamptonshire, the old and infirm are sold at the monthly meeting to the best bidder, at prices varying, according to the time of the year, from 1 s. 6 d. a week to 3 s. That at Yardley, Hastings, all the unemployed men are put up to sale weekly." Illustrative of its effect upon domestic morals, in page 85 : "Those whose minds have been moulded by the operation of the poor law appear not to feel the slightest scruple in asking to be paid for the performance of those domestic duties which the most brutal savages are in general willing to render gratuitously to their own kindred. Why should I tend my sick and aged parents, when the parish is bound to do it?" Again, in page 399 : "The English poor law has abolished female chastity, self respect, proper pride, and all the charities of domestic life derived from, and connected with, its existence."

5951. Mr. Mowell.] With reference to some questions which you were asked by an Honourable Gentleman a few minutes ago as to the county of Mayo, I wish to ask you whether, in your opinion, if the measures which you have now suggested had been taken eighteen months or two years ago, a great number of persons now lying in their graves in Mayo would not have been comfortable and happy in the colonies?—I am quite certain that such would have been the case, and I wish to observe generally, that there can be no more fatal mistake than to imagine that a poor law alone will avert an enormous loss of life if it be relied on in a case of famine. It is impossible to enforce, however laxly, any of those tests and restrictions which are found necessary in the administration of the poor law, without subjecting the recipient of aid to difficulties, privations, and degradations which he will not willingly incur. It will also be impossible to administer the relief necessary in time; the consequence will therefore always be, I apprehend, what we see that it actually is, namely, that many persons will die of actual starvation, while an infinitely larger number are carried off by those epidemic diseases which are sure to be fatal when a population has been reduced by long privation. The actual mortality in many workhouses has tripled and

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quadrupled of late. I have been informed that in many parts of the country the people are dying daily like rotten sheep; and I believe that, if the present system be persevered in, the Irish peasantry of the west will melt away and die off as fast as is consistent with the tranquillity of public opinion; and, if the present system be persevered in, will be enormous.

5952. Major Blackhall.] You have stated that you have an objection to a union rate?—Yes.

5953. Is your objection founded upon the fact that it would tend to diminish exertion in electoral divisions to keep down the rates?—That is one reason.

5954. Have you ever considered the proposition for putting a certain amount of rate originally over the union, and then allowing any surplus to be levied off the electoral division?—Making the union rate come first?

5955. Yes?—I believe that any species of combined rating would have the effect of making the area of taxation practically a union area. I think if the union rate were put first, the effect would be that pauperism would first rise to the amount for which relief was provided by the union rate; and that then from that foundation we should have, as it were, to start afresh in carrying out the poor law. No effort, I think, would be made to keep down pauperism until the union rate had been reached.

5956. Mr. Mossell.] Do not you think that it would be much better to have a union rate in that way, than in the way proposed by Her Majesty's Government?—I think so. The mischief would meet its limit sooner.

5957. Major Blackhall.] Do not you think it would be better that all property in a union should be taxed to a certain amount for the support of the pauperism of the union?—I think that there are peculiar advantages connected with making the ordinary support of the poor proceed from the land. It is chiefly the classes connected with land, the class of proprietor and farmer, who have the power of averting any very great pauperism; and I think that the real object of a poor law being prevention, that is the main consideration. But speaking with reference to a famine case, nothing can be more unjust than to impose the whole burden of taxation for the relief of the poor, not only upon those districts which are most severely afflicted by the famine, but also upon those classes within the district which have felt it most.

5958. But in ordinary cases, do not you think it fair that the landed property of a union, for instance grass lands, should to a certain extent contribute to the relief of the general pauperism of that union?—They should certainly, I think, pay their proportion of the expenses connected with the administration of the law, and the workhouse system. But if you were to place a special tax upon grass lands for the support of paupers not included within the electoral division to which they belong, it would amount practically to a restriction upon that species of cultivation; and I think it desirable that all persons should be allowed to adopt whatever species of cultivation suits best the qualities of the soil.

5959. Then you are, in fact, favourable to exclusively local taxation for the support of the poor upon electoral divisions?—With the exception which I have made of the establishment charges.

5959*. With respect to the capability of the colonies to receive labourers, you have a document, I think, which you wish to put in?—Yes. It is well known that in nearly all our colonies there are tracts, of almost unlimited extent, which have not yet been occupied. This is a very interesting letter describing the district of Natal, which I shall take the liberty of banding in. It is addressed by a man of humble origin, who after a time became colour-sergeant of a regiment in India, to his relatives in Ireland, who continue to reside in a cottage in a small village in the county of Limerick.

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:]

Milkwood Kraal, (Natal, South Africa),
27 March 1848.

Dear James,

YESTERDAY I received your letter of the 1st December last, and, agreeably to your request, lost no time in replying. I am happy to find that you have received my letter: I was apprehensive that it would miscarry, there not being a post-office yet established here. I therefore addressed another letter to you in January last, which was simply intended by me to let you know that I had come here, in the event of the other letter miscarrying.

I have no distinct recollection of the particulars of these two letters. Whatever I mentioned to you in them, however, you may rely on as being correct, as far as I had the means of ascertaining. I shall now proceed to give you the information you require respecting the description

description of crops, manner of living, and the probable expenses of supporting a family usual crops may be realized by the working members of it, for private consumption.

When I arrived here in August 1846, and purchased this farm, on which I have since resided, I had no white neighbours nearer than 10 miles in one direction, or than 30 in the opposite one; no house, no cultivation, nothing but green fields, intersected by deep ravines, with continual succession of hill and dale all over the country; how then was it possible for me to tell you what may be the productions of the country?

It is true that this district had been taken possession of five or six years before by perhaps 200 Dutch farmers, who had emigrated from Cape Colony, in consequence of some imaginary wrongs connected with slave emancipation, the country being then totally depopulated, the Kaffir chief having been just killed, and the cattle of his nation plundered by the Zulu tribe, situated contiguous to this district on the north (the most powerful of all the Kaffir tribes). These Dutch Boers, through want of education, and freedom from all restraint, living beyond the control of the Cape Government, appear to have contracted all the predatory habits of the Kaffir tribes; and finding themselves in sufficient force, they attacked the Zulu king, defeated and killed him, and placed another in his stead, from whom they obtained a formal cession of the district of Natal, which was claimed by that tribe in right of conquest. Elevated by their success the Boers wished to make this an independent settlement, and even sent to Holland, acquainting the government of their having thrown off all allegiance to her Britannic Majesty. Immediately troops were sent from the old colony, who offer considerable resistance on the part of the Boers, and some bloodshed, gained the upper hand, and they then submitted and returned to their former allegiance, on being permitted to retain possession each of 6,000 acres of land; but being still dissatisfied in consequence of being prevented from treating the Kaffirs (who sought protection under the newly-established government from the absolute power of all the neighboring Kaffir chiefs) as slaves, and finding a large tract of country to the west beyond the boundary of the district, well adapted for grazing purposes, they emigrated a second time, selling their farms when they could find purchasers, and mine (4,500 acres) is a part only of one farm, which although now worth at least 3,000 *l.*, I then bought for 300 *l.* The country to which the Boers have retired does not afford pasture in winter for their cattle, on account of frost and snow; should they continue there, they would be under the necessity of sowing hay for fodder; and here it is not necessary to do so, there being abundance of grass through the year; besides, the lately-appointed governor, Sir H. Smith, who is very popular among them, has condescended to flatter their prejudices (through pity for them, and to prevent their falling altogether into a state of barbarism), so that they are now decided on returning. This district being without inhabitants for so many years, and the Boers when stationary never planting more than they think necessary for their own consumption, and the want of experience of the few English who have only commenced finding out their way here during the last 12 months, leaves it as yet undetermined what the resources of the country may be. I have not had an opportunity of seeing any wheat growing, but I have seen excellent wheat and flour in sacks which was grown and ground here. I have seen as good oats growing here as ever I saw in Europe. Maize, than which there is no food more wholesome or substantial, produces abundantly. A kind of round corn almost as large as duck shot, also excellent, which produces two or three hundred fold, called by the natives *mabele*, is grown here; I am informed that barley grows also, but I have not seen any. Pumpkins, the best in the world, and an excellent substitute for potatoes, melons, cucumbers, calabashes, with various other vegetables of which you must know nothing, but all excellent, are in abundance; carrots, onions, cabbage, and I believe all your garden herbs, are or may be grown; but the staple produce of the country, and which will make it hereafter the first in importance of all the British colonies, is cotton and Indigo, of which it appears, *par excellence*, the native soil. I have seen perhaps fifteen varieties of the indigo plant growing in the fields without cultivation, and so thick that seven men may collect a ton weight of the plant in a week, but no one here knows how to manufacture it. Two or three persons have attempted to extract the indigo from the plant by means of tubs and buckets, and obtained some of excellent quality, by following some directions which they met with by accident in a book which does not properly treat on that subject, but in a cursory manner. I think I have already told you in what abundance cotton may be grown here. Experience soon confirms what then may perhaps have been conjecture; and even this year it is thought that nearly 100 tons of it will be shipped for England from this port. I read you a newspaper published here, in which there is an article on cotton, to which I refer you, and shall only add on that subject, that the cotton plant here is known to increase in size and productiveness for at least ten years (how much longer we must wait for time to tell), instead of being an annual plant, as in America and India, I believe; and further, that not one species alone of it, but all of them, appears to be perennial. Tobacco of the best quality also grows here in the greatest luxuriance.

Although the soil is loose enough when once broken up, yet it is very difficult to break the first time. With a good Scotch iron plough, perhaps ten oxen may be sufficient; with the Dutch plough, which leaves a furrow two feet or a foot and-a-half wide, 16 are required. The Irish or Scotch spade is the only one fit for this country, and there are none here, nor a smith able to make them. Smiths, carpenters, and joiners would obtain high wages, particularly smiths. Tradesmen for the supply of luxuries, would thrive. Sober men only may hope to prosper, for you must know that half our population, perhaps, are professional temperance people, and the rest extremely sober. A fat ox may be had for 3*l.* Sheep are numerous in the interior, and may be purchased, perhaps, for 6*s.* Pork is now sold at 6*d.* per lb.; mutton at, perhaps, 5*d.* for 5*lb.*; Kaffir corn at the same price. Pumpkins,

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weighing 20 lbs., for 1 d. or 2 d. Fowl (I have never seen them so fat anywhere else) for 3 d. or 4 d. Eggs, 6 d. per dozen. Deer, for the trouble of shooting them; they are numerous, and in great variety.

You may now calculate how persons not of expensive habits may live. I have a steel mill, with which I grind maize. I sift the flour, the finest part of which I make bread with, either mixed with wheat flour, or unmixed. The coarse part, like the groats of oatmeal, is vastly superior to rice, when boiled; and if the white maize is used, it is, when boiled, as white as snow. Potatoes grow, but are neither so sweet or as large as in Ireland; perhaps the seed is not so good. Beans and peas may be sown at any time, and will be fit to gather in about ten weeks after. Although this is, I think, the general harvest season, yet maize is being now sown, and has been continually during the last six months. You may, perhaps, buy a steel mill in Cork for 20s.; take it to pieces; it will pack in small compass. You can bring nothing more useful, and I have not seen one in this country but my own. You can kill an ox, and salt the beef. You can always have maize, mabele, peas, beans, fowls, and consequently eggs; you may buy two or three milch cows, with their calves, for about 20 s. each, but strange to say, you may sell butter for 1 s. the pound. The cows here give no more than about half as much milk as in Ireland; the calf always sucks the cow at milking, which is invariably done by Kaffirs, as many of whom as required may be hired for 4 s. per month, or a cow for 12 months. They do a pretty fair day's work at hoeing; they are becoming expert at driving and management of working oxen; but I have never heard of one of them being able to plough. But I have digressed from my subject; you see that even without friends, it would cost only a trifle to live here, until a man would be able to raise sufficient for his own consumption. I do not think that the sugar cane will do well here, so you will always have to buy sugar; but there are two herbs that grow here, without cultivation, either of which I prefer to tea, and all the Europeans I have conversed with on the subject have given them the preference.

The waggon used in this country is the most expensive article a farmer has to purchase; a new one, properly finished with canvas coverings, would cost 50 l.; but they are constructed to serve instead of a dwelling-house, and many of the Dutch Boers have lived in them, with their large families, for years; indeed in a country where no man is to be met with, and for people of their patriarchal mode of life (we find that Abraham had no horse), some such contrivance has hitherto been absolutely necessary; but for a person residing within a moderate distance of the market town, a cart or two-wheeled day is vastly preferable, and they are getting in use among the English. An iron plough may be bought for about 2 l., and a span (12 oxen) would cost about 30 l., or perhaps more, but these will always sell for what they cost, and in fact for 6 l. or 2 l. more.

Six or eight doubles of untanned ox hide, twisted together, of sufficient length and strength for the number of oxen, runs between them as they are yoked by two; and the yokes are attached to this rope. Everything belonging to this harnessing may be made by an ordinary handy man, there being always plenty of wood in the nearest ravines; in fact, the wheels and axle for the dray with the necessary iron works are the only things that a careful serving person need purchase for conveying his produce. Your information is correct respecting the entrance of this port; there is a bar, which is impassable for vessels above 150 tons burthen; but it is easily remedied, and will not, I hope, remain long an obstacle to the entrance of the largest ships; the water is deep enough inside the bar, where vessels may be secure from every wind that blows.

I commend you much for using much precaution, and ascertaining everything necessary for you to know before you undertake so important an affair as making so long a voyage, you who never made one perhaps, unless to Limerick; to me, who have spent much time at sea for a landsman, it would appear nothing; understand me well, however, do not come unless you perceive a very seasonal advantage as so doing; I do not urge you to the step, and should be sorry to give you cause to reproach me hereafter, which with or without reason you might be disposed to do; I have no interest except the pleasure of having my brother near me, in your coming; and to confess the truth, I have not always acted so wisely myself as to place implicit reliance on my own judgment. If on maturely weighing everything you find it suits you to come, I will sell you 500 acres of as good land as this country affords, adapted for pasture and agriculture, at such price as land at an equal distance from the port may be worth at the time of your arrival, and you shall pay me when you can. I will also lend you 10 or 20 oxen if you want them, for 12 months if necessary, or until you can procure others of your own, and all such grains and seeds as I have, that you may require for sowing; I promise you nothing more, and you must not even in your own mind blame me if you come and afterwards regret it. I forgot, or was near forgetting, the subject of our personal security here. I have been much more secure here, and felt it from the beginning, than I ever thought myself in Ireland. I arrived in Cape Town just when the Kaffir war broke out in the old colony; and yet I came to Port Natal, which is surrounded on every side by Kaffirs, except seaward, with at present about 100,000 of them in the district; when I came here there was not perhaps more than 5,000. I was aware that more than two or three of these Kaffir tribes, for various reasons, never act in concert, nor ever will.

The chiefs of tribes will not receive refugees from one another; the chief has absolute power over the lives and property of their people, hence those who have acquired property in cattle are never safe, as on that account they are frequently put to death, the chief or king always (in this case) taking their cattle to himself. Now in this district there is no chief but Queen Victoria; all the Kaffirs here, as well as the subjects of the neighbouring chiefs, know well that their lives and properties here are safe, hence they arrive in thousands every month, and were the district attacked from outside, would fight for the English to the last

man,

man; with them they have security, without them they would every Kaffir of them be swept off the face of the earth in a month.

Thus, during the Kaffir war, we had here no more than five companies of the 44th Regiment, a dozen artillerymen, a few sappers, and two companies of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and no one felt the least apprehension. But in case of attack, the white inhabitants would alone be sufficient. I have already told you how about 200 Boers defeated the strongest chief in this part of the country. Besides, the country will be ten times more thickly inhabited than Cape Colony; here there is not, as there, large tracts of barren sands; every foot of land is available for tillage or pasture. These are my reasons for feeling perfectly secure here; I have no one, male or female, as servants or labourers but Kaffirs; I have on an average 12 or 14 continually, who remain with me on an average only three or four months; they have care of perhaps 250 head of cattle. I have been from home for weeks at a time; my house (if I may give it that name) had no lock on it, nor even a door to put a lock on; there was in boxes, many of them without locks, portable property to the amount of more than 200*l.*, and yet I have always found everything safe, and do not know that a Kaffir ever stole to the value of 6*d.* from me. I have young cattle on this farm in charge of Kaffirs that I have not seen for the last six months, and may not for six months to come, and yet I am as sure of their safety as if they were continually under my own eye; should I be so sure of my property if I had Europeans about me? Moreover, there was not a single Kaffir convicted of theft or robbery since my arrival on the district, nor have I heard that there was before. The Kaffirs, and many white men also, live in huts constructed in the form of a beehive, of an elliptical sphere, near the ground; pliable twigs about an inch in diameter are firmly tied together where they cross each other, leaving little diamond spaces between them three or four inches; these are covered with grass, which is fastened on by twigs, which are about a foot and a half in length, with both ends inserted in the grass; the huts are then impenetrable to the heaviest rain. The kinds of houses I have hitherto lived in is rather better than the one above described; it consists of poles, firmly fastened in the ground about a foot and a half apart, and about six feet high; strong twigs are woven on these poles, and the whole plastered with clay tempered with cowdung; this is covered with rafters and thatch sown on in the usual way. I am now, however, building a regular farm-house of stone (the only building but one of the kind within fifty miles of me, the houses in the town at the port being all of brick); and to give you an idea of the expense of such buildings I shall tell you its dimensions. It is 48 by 20, the gables to be raised to a pitch with the roof, with a chimney in each of them; there is a verandah 6 ft wide at both sides; at each corner there is a room ten feet long, at each end of the verandah, and raised to a pitch with the roof; the floor, which is boarded, is two feet above the surface, and it is to be nine feet between the beams, which, as well as the rafters and battens, are of sawn wood, with a thatch roof; there is also an oven in the kitchen. I pay the mason for the stone work 40*l.*, and the wood and woodwork will cost more than as much more; you must judge from this how labour is paid for here. I have ploughed no more than about three acres, in which I sowed white maize, which produced a splendid crop; this grows five hundred fold. You know I never ploughed much, but I find I would do it well if I had nothing else to do; but I have the Kaffirs to superintend, and the milk cows and calves to look at every day, and various temporary buildings to put up for pigs, poultry, goats, sheep, &c., together with carpenter jobbing of various kinds; so you see I do not pass my time in idleness. I intend forthwith to commence planting cotton; in this respect I am behind my neighbours, but I do as well as I can. I never enjoyed better health than since I came here; the climate is the finest in the world, and would suit your complaint admirably. If you come bring me about a gallon of furze seed; I know nothing so good to make hedges, and here there are none. Bring a few forest-tree seeds also, not one of your trees are to be found here; also seeds of fruit trees. The peach, apricot, nectarine, apple, pear, orange, lemon, quince, vine, &c. grow, but they are as yet so scarce, that I cannot get cuttings or seeds of them. The fig is very common. The gooseberry, currant, and plum will not grow; they require the frost, and we have none nearer than 100 miles. The reason why it is so near and yet does not pay us a visit, is, that the land rises with extreme rapidity for about 120 miles, where it gradually sinks all the way to the Gulf of Guinea; so that until now an immense tract of country, that has hitherto been considered plains of sand scorched by the rays of a burning sun, is now known to be a beautiful pasture land, covered three or four months of the year with frost and snow, and as cold as you have it in Ireland in winter.

Remember me in the kindest way to Johanna and all your family, and believe me, my dear James, ever your affectionate brother.

(signed) H. Shire.

Mr. James Shire,
Shamagallen, County Limerick, Ireland.

The Kaffir war in the old colony is over; they are completely subdued, and if proper steps be taken will never again prove troublesome. The whole of their country being between us and the northern boundary of Cape Colony has been taken possession of for the British Crown; this step is a wise one so far, if the Home Government sends out emigrants to occupy it. A thousand English or Irish emigrants located there on small portions of land, given to them at a small quit-rent, would prove the best thing they could do for the emigrants, as well as for themselves, inasmuch as it would save them the expense of one regiment, which could then be safely dispensed with; otherwise I fear there never will be perfect security in the old colony, it being exposed to similar attacks in future from the same

A. de Vere, Esq.

27 April 1849.

quarter, and the inhabitants being thinly scattered over a large extent of country (the pasturing being found only in patches), are unable to defend themselves, and cannot be defended by the military for that reason, without great expense. The land that I have been just speaking of is not of itself so valuable as the district of Natal; still it affords good pasture and arable land, and most probably would produce wheat, barley, &c. better, it being colder (for which reason I do not think it adapted for the growth of cotton and indigo); and following this train of reasoning, after a year or two, when the Government have an opportunity of seeing what this district is capable of, I anticipate that they will take possession of and colonize the Zulu country to the north of us, it being equally adapted with this for cotton and indigo, it being quite healthy and fit for pasture and agriculture; so that, this district has been stocked by young cattle which have been purchased from the Zulus by traders, who are continually taking them in exchange for blankets, knives, beads, cotton prints, calico, &c. This fact proves its being fit for pasture, and the cotton plant is found growing without cultivation, 100 miles perhaps north of our northern boundary; and by old treaties with the Portuguese, the whole country, as far as Delagoa Bay, was ceded to Britain. It has not hitherto, however, been considered of much value, but it will soon be regarded as the place of all other British possessions abroad as most capable for supplying materials for its manufactures. Again, agricultural produce in the colonies, in general of very uncertain value, such as corn of all kinds, which although sometimes dear, at other times is not worth the freight if it has to be sent by sea, whereas the value of cotton may be calculated to within a farthing of the price it will bring in England, and the planter will not have to contend with the uncertainty of a colonial market. If the Home Government were aware of everything connected with this district they would send emigrants here sooner than to any other colony. If even they had to make provision for their support for six months after landing, and if a thousand of them were sent, a Kaffir police with three or four companies of soldiers is all that would ever be required for the tranquillity of the place. A Kaffir police is about being organized, and I am confident that it will be found the kind of force best adapted for the service of the place, their principal duty being to hunt up such Kaffirs as quit their employers before their period of service is expired. A ship from Bremen has just arrived here with 187 emigrants from Hannover, and other parts of Germany; these have all paid their own passage, and are come expressly to occupy themselves in planting cotton. There are two small vessels also now in the bay, one from Cape Town, which brings 25 passengers, and the other from Algoa Bay, with 14, some foreigners, the others English and Scotch. While Government are sending emigrants to all their colonies they appear to have altogether forgotten Natal, which is the only one of them likely to repay the mother country the expense incurred by sending them out.

It would appear, notwithstanding, that this place is already known in Germany as affording great encouragement for emigration, for the vessel is about to return with as many more, but it would be desirable that there should be a moiety at least of the inhabitants natives of the United Kingdom, particularly as the Boers are not remarkable for their loyalty, and who are likely to continue a distinct people in language and manners.

Should the colonies ever possess a representative government of their own, the ill effects of too great a number of foreigners might prove of serious consequence. But I must give my opinion that the Home Government do not treat this district fairly; there is a local government which is probably supported from the sale of Crown lands up to the present time, there being no quit-rents available, inasmuch as there are not 100 farms surveyed, which must be done before the lands can be assigned or quit-rents received, and the money received for the sale of these Crown lands is not sufficient to pay the salaries of officials; therefore, to increase the revenue, duties are imposed on all goods arriving here from Cape Colony, although these goods have already paid duty on their arrival from England; and, moreover, it is an *ad valorem* duty, which causes all manufactured goods to be vastly dearer here than in Cape Town. But it may be objected that if these goods were imported direct from England we should avoid these double duties; but we cannot; we have no produce as yet to send ships to England with, and which could bring us the goods we require, on their return for another cargo. This is a great hardship, and might easily be remedied, if those who have the power to do so would take the trouble. The next is, that from the surplus arising from the sale of Crown lands in Australia, and other colonies that require European emigrant labourers, a fund be created for paying the expense of the voyage from England, so that the mother country is at no expense for emigration to such places; but here we have no surplus, nor any funds available for paying agents in London, publishing prospectuses of companies (we have two cotton planting companies with a capital of 50,000*l.*), &c. We cannot get emigrants, because we have as yet no money to pay their passage, and we are like a youth, whose strength is exhausted by overwork before he arrives at maturity. The conduct of the Government towards this place is as absurd as that of the person who killed the goose to get her egg. But I believe that all this arises from its not being brought to the notice of those who have the power at home to rectify such things, at least I would hope so. Although we have no funds to pay for emigration, the Home Government ought in justice to pay the expense of a messenger that would prove of advantage to our manufactures in England, and in case of a war with cotton producing nations, would save the Government itself from much embarrassment. I have seen a reported speech of Lord Lincoln's, in Parliament, in which he strongly recommended that emigrants should be sent here; but I thought at the time that as all probability has Lordship was not aware of the difficulties which our want of funds threw in the way.

If you come, and you have an opportunity, it would also be advisable to bring a pair of dry wheels, with cast iron naves, with the iron arms for fixing on a wooden axle, as also the

the iron pins, &c. that might be required for mousting it here; the metal naves are of the utmost importance, as the weather sets the wooden ones in a very short time. You should bring a few spades and shovels, a few zinc vessels for milk; they would prove extremely useful on the way, and are not to be purchased here. The iron of a few carpenters' tools you might bring also; they may be bought here, but, like all other things, are dear. I fear it would be useless to mention anything else, as although you may have money to buy them, you may not be able to get them brought here. An iron wheel for a wheelbarrow, with bolts for the axle to turn it, would be useful; for a wheelbarrow of this kind cost me here 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* If you cannot bring all it would be better to leave the carpenters' tools behind, as you could have the use of mine, which would do well enough if they were put in order. I do not know if I mentioned to you that my Henry commands a vessel which sails from Calcutta to China, Persian Gulf, and the eastern ports. It is a pleasure to me to find that at his age, and left in a great measure to take care of himself, he has done so well. I have just had a letter from him; he had returned from the Persian Gulf; he was then preparing for China. He states that his salary is now 200 rupees, or 40*l.* per month; that I consider a great deal for one who has not many opportunities for spending money. He wished me to tell him if I wanted any, that he might remit it to me. He advises me to go to Calcutta, where he would have an opportunity of seeing me sometimes; and I have told him in reply, that if he had money to spare and approved of this country, of which I gave him a description, that if he would remit me I would purchase land for him here, to which he could retire whenever he should get tired of the sea. The poor fellow has ever been a good and dutiful son under very trying circumstances; he deserves all the good fortune that is likely to attend him; but I may never see him again.

There are two things of a disagreeable nature which affect about 20 miles along the sea coast. The first is, that the houses die frequently of pneumonia unless they are kept constantly in a stable for about six months of the year; and the other, that in some places, in the long grass (which grows to the length of five or six feet where it is not fed down by cattle), there are a number of ticks resembling those you see in sheep, that attach themselves to the cattle and trouble them a good deal. It is said that the inconvenience in both cases is diminishing every year, and it is hoped that when the place is fully stocked and the grass kept down by the cattle, that it would totally disappear. Want of roads and bridges is another great inconvenience, but this also will be remedied in the course of time. It will be absolutely necessary for residents in the country to acquire a speaking knowledge of the Kafir language, which is extremely euphonic, and subject to strict grammatical rules for the formation of the moods and tenses of verbs, and the phrase of substantives and adjectives. The plural of substantives, instead of changing the termination to denote the change of number, change the prefix letter or letters, and euphonic letters are inserted between words as in the Greek, to prevent the hiatus caused by two vowels coming together. Almost all the verbs, and three-fourths of the other words terminate in *a*, and to enable you to form an idea of the copiousness of the language, the easiest way is to inform you that there are perhaps more than 100 tenses in all the moods, and that the personal pronoun *he*, according to the manner in which it is employed, there are no less than 12 declensions of nouns, each of which has its own euphonic letter; and the adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, instead of being separate words, are expressed by adjuncts to other words, so as to form only one word with the one to which it is adjoined or governed. The inhabitants of the coast, all the way north to Abyssinia, speak the same language, with local peculiarities; so that it is presumable that the Kafir language must have been the language of some highly polished nation of antiquity, of which, perhaps, we know nothing; and it is wonderful, admitting that to have been the case, how the language could have been handed down to the present time in its present purity without any written character. It is more than probable that it was the language of the Ethiopians, of whom we read in the Old Testament, and also in ancient history, and which in the time of Canaanites are represented as being very powerful, and lying many days journeying from Egypt, across deserts of burning sands, in which his army perished. From what we know of the geography of the country at present, the kingdom of Ethiopia must have been situated somewhere near the sources of the Nile, or perhaps further south; and the Kafir tribes are, I think, unquestionably the descendants of that people.

I have now given you all the information concerning this place that I can suppose interesting to you, and I have endeavoured to avoid giving you room to accuse me of not being sufficiently explicit.

I have also written more at length, aware that if you come this will be my last letter to you in Ireland. I hope to obtain more exact information from you respecting poor Dorah's family, and Mary Anne; we should not forget how near they are related to us, and we should not lose sight of them; and if they want our assistance, and if it be in our power to serve them, with due regard to the interest of our own children, we do not discharge our duty, nor possess those natural affections that ought to bind the different members of the same family together. You know my address; it is therefore not necessary for me to give you further directions on the subject. I again bid you adieu; and if you come, wish you a safe and pleasant voyage.

(signed) H. S.

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